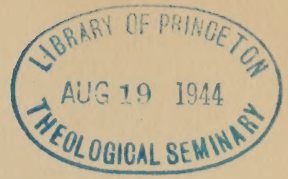


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INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL RESEARCH



INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL RESEARCH

*A Text and Reference Study, wherein are presented various
methods of social research in a compact, convenient form.*

by

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

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Research; Collaborating Editor, Rivista di Sociologia; Contributing Editor,
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SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND SOCIAL PROCESSES

PREFACE

It has been common to make statements in line with one's interests and then to seek data to support the assertions. As a result the world is facing a medley of deep-seated problems with a great deal of wishful thinking as a means of solving them.

College-trained men and women do not necessarily rise above this inadequate procedure. It is not their fault, for they have not been carefully trained even in the elements of sound research methods. They do not seek truth impartially and impersonally. They persist in taking a position and then of defending it at all costs of logic and research. The major weakness of the fine art of college debating is that it tends to further this procedure. Hence training in debate, useful as it is, needs to be supplemented by every college student with a substantial degree of training in objective methods of research.

To the end that college students generally and others may have within convenient compass a treatise on the elements of research this book has been prepared. To this end the present volume has been written so that any intelligent person can understand and equip himself with scientific techniques of investigation.

The aim in this treatise is to bring together within convenient compass the many different research techniques that are now being used in the social sciences. While attention is given to statistical methods, which are the oldest, best developed, and most widely accepted of all research techniques, other leading research devices are also given prominence. Within the last few years some of the weaknesses of statistics have been extensively recognized and a number of other techniques have been developed, chiefly, that known as social case analysis, which is viewed here as being complementary to statistical analysis. Together statistical analysis and case analysis, however, need the support that other methods can give and hence this book presents all the accepted research methods in a kind of balanced relationship.

Since the approaches of statistical analysis and case analysis are so different from each other many persons regard them as competitors. Some persons consider one, or the other, the superior, and view the remaining procedure as inferior if not relatively useless.

The point of view of the present writer is that both statistical analyses and social case analyses have their places in research, and that other approaches likewise have a distinctive function to perform. In other words the "enemy" of any one method of research is not some other procedure but rather the difficulties of discovering truth in complicated social situations. All techniques should be joined together in a common attack on baffling problems.

This book presents an exhibit of the various research procedures now being used not only as separate units but as a system of research. It is suggested to the research student that before actually setting out on a piece of research he examine each of the several methods of research and determine exactly in what ways each may be utilized to the best advantage in the given undertaking. It then becomes the opportunity of the research student to marshal all the techniques simultaneously or in tandem fashion upon the citadels of hidden data and their meanings.

Some of these concepts and materials were presented by the author in his earlier book on *The New Social Research*. Not only have these analyses been rewritten but new interpretations have been developed. In that book the basic idea was to develop the concepts of personal interviews and life histories in the light of case analysis. In this volume that method has been developed as an essential phase of a system of several and different, but related, major techniques of social research.

Special thanks are given to all who have in any way contributed to putting this research-methods mosaic together and of organizing it into the beginning of a system of research. The list is entirely too long to be enumerated here.

University of Southern California
February 1, 1936

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

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INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL RESEARCH

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CHAPTER I

EXPLORATION

The principle of exploration is the alpha and omega of social research. Exploration is a process of searching for sources of data, of looking for the best techniques, of seeking the most efficient methods of classifying facts, and of searching for fundamental interpretations of all the research data. Exploration varies with every project. Exploration is both abstract and practical. It is practical in that it is concerned with facts, concrete situations, and particular persons. It is abstract in that it seeks hypotheses, principles, and meanings.

THE SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDE

First of all, exploration is largely a set of attitudes of approach to a problem. A popular attitude is to regard research as a method of finding facts for the purpose of proving something. Childhood and adolescence are often unwittingly trained in this popular attitude until it becomes habitual and difficult to change.

The scientific attitude undertakes research with as few preconceived prejudices and opinions as possible. One's biases may be of such long standing and may have been acquired so unconsciously that one is not aware of the most deep-seated of them. It is necessary, therefore, in order to attain the scientific attitude to diagnose one's biases and to overcome their influence.

Exploration is defeated if it is guided in any way by wishful thinking. Many students begin a piece of research by faithfully throwing off wishful thinking but they soon fall into its errors after a project has once been launched. After starting upon an investigation a person becomes interested in proving or disproving something and hence slips into the trap of wishful thinking. Exploration is a continual struggle against seeing some issues unduly large and against

minimizing other factors, which after all are the chief charges to be laid at the door of wishful thinking. Scientific thinking is seeing every fact and the meaning of every fact at its real worth and in its natural perspective.

A student of the non-voting problem starts out with the proposition that non-voting is due to the increasing number of referendum and legislative matters being placed on the ballot, and then he proceeds by seeking far and wide for statistics to substantiate his claim. He uses the unscientific debater's technique of ignoring or of poking fun at all data that seem to contradict the proposition in question. He has the unscientific attitude of wishing to win for his side of the question rather than the scientific viewpoint of seeking data of all descriptions and, as the case may be, of allowing this comprehensive collection of data to prove or to disprove the proposition under consideration.

In looking for new heavenly bodies the astronomer guards himself against "personal expectation." He knows that he may "see" an astronomical body where one does not exist simply because he is looking for it, and hence he "checks up" upon his work in a variety of ways before announcing a discovery. Doubly careful must be the social explorer in protecting himself against the "personal expectation" fallacy.

An extreme form of this error is the case of the author who says that having failed to convince his friends by argument of a theory of his that children leave school because of low-grade mental ability, he proceeded to make an investigation to prove that he was right! A person who earnestly sets out to prove a proposition is almost certain to find some data from which a plausible argument can be forged, but this method is dangerous if it ignores important data. Some debaters and legal advocates often do research work in such a way that it becomes a bane to mankind because it is so colored by personal aims.

Another pitfall to be avoided is not to generalize too quickly. It is not uncommon for many persons to generalize on the basis of one

or two experiences or on an acquaintance with a few limited facts. This practice, which is common and a gross abuse of scientific method, is known as the *particularistic error*.¹

For example, it is sometimes said: "He is a minister's son and you would expect him to be a black sheep." However, no such conclusion is justified until the records of large numbers of minister's sons, perhaps several thousand, have been studied. It would not be sound unless it were found that at least a majority of a group of several thousands of sons of ministers had turned out to be black sheep.

At this point the importance of a *control group* for research purposes may be indicated. A control group (in a statistical study) is a number of "normal cases" that may be used for comparative purposes. In this way the degree of variation of abnormal phenomena from the norm may be determined. The control group gives an objective base against which to study the particular problem group. Instead of considering the problem group in terms of itself alone, it may be analyzed in terms of an objective norm.

For instance, if the delinquent behavior of a number of boys is being examined, a control group would consist of a number of boys on a comparable culture level in the same community who do not have delinquency records. By comparing the abnormal with the normal, the degree of abnormalcy in a number of particulars may be determined.

The scientific attitude avoids not only one but all of Francis Bacon's four idols. There are the idols of the cave, or errors due to narrow and isolated thinking, to thinking characteristic of the given person alone, or experiences which one has had that no one else knows anything about. There are the idols of the forum, errors due to "the influence of mere words over our minds," and due to putting unjustified reliance upon words, phrases, and language. There are the idols of the market-place, or errors arising out of undue reliance on traditions, traditional ways of thinking, and from "received sys-

¹ William I. Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909), p. 22.

tems of thought." There are the idols of the tribe, or errors due to one's human or anthropomorphic ways of looking at things. It is difficult for a person to get outside of a personal viewpoint, or to step outside of his own limited perspective of life. The various epitomes of the Baconian injunction have been stated as follows: "To get as little of one's self, one's aims, one's desires, and of other persons' selves and desires as possible in the way of the thing that one wishes to see."

A recent analysis by E. L. Clark describes five causes of prejudices, some of which are related to Bacon's "idols." The first is "the bias and habit of self-interest," that is, being influenced by what seems to favor one's own protection or advancement. Second, there is "the bias and habit of conservatism." Thus, one may be inclined to favor the past unduly. Third, a closely related bias is that of radicalism, whereby one may unduly favor data that look toward change and the dawn of a new day. Fourth, there is the habit that inclines one toward his "own ideas and practices" because of familiarity with them, and against individuals and groups whose beliefs and ways are "different," and hence strange and peculiar. Fifth comes "the bias and habit of conventionality," based on the dislike of being different from one's fellows and of producing data that would antagonize one's associates.²

Another necessity is to distinguish between surface data and underlying conditions. In starting to investigate a conflict in a local community, a research student called on "a prominent citizen" who said "everything is quiet and there is no trouble anywhere." "Only ungrounded rumors have been afloat." The student returned from his quest with no data. He had not discounted the sense of local pride of the "prominent man," whose prominence was due largely to the fact that he was a strong community "booster," but not much else. Further inquiry by a more experienced research student revealed the fact that bitter racial conflicts were actually taking place in

² Edwin L. Clark, *The Art of Straight Thinking* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1929), Chapter II.

the given community and that the prominent citizen had deliberately and successfully warded off the first research worker who had played his role as an investigator too naively and who was gullible.

A related error is illustrated by two research students in training who visited a certain community to find out if a racial conflict had recently occurred there and to obtain the details if possible. They returned from the trip, declaring that everything was quiet, and that a representative citizen had said that the Orientals and Americans were working together splendidly, but that some time previously there had been a race riot which was settled amicably. Hence there was nothing to investigate. The students had overlooked the fact that this clash which had been settled was interesting, and that they had arrived in the community at an opportune time, for race feelings and prejudices had died down. The chance lay before them to obtain dispassionate accounts of what had happened. Here was an opportunity to study an accommodation process, an adjustment between races; here was a chance to secure a natural history of a complicated conflict, how it arose, what forms it took, and how it was settled.

Another error is that of being guided wholly by methods learned in previous pieces of research that one has done. No general can hope to win battles today by relying entirely on methods that won battles for him ten years ago. One should undertake each new piece of research with as few preconceived notions as is humanly possible. He should proceed as free-mindedly as he can in order to allow new rules of research to emerge out of the new study.

Still another error to sidestep is that of finding out first what is right. The scientific viewpoint seeks first to learn *what is* and second *how it came to be*. When these two tasks are accomplished the passing of ethical judgments may be in order. If a research student starts out by thinking in terms of right and wrong his whole effort will probably be so biased as to be of little value.

LITERATURE EXPLORATION

The literature phase of exploration involves finding out what has already been done and thought and set down in writing and in print.

The bibliography for a given study in as accurate and as complete a way as possible for all the reliable materials that have been published in the given field is a prime essential. It reveals at a glance whether much or little attention has been given to the subject, discloses those who have been conducting investigations, and serves as a guide to all that has been discovered about the particular theme. Moreover, a bibliography is an index to the scholarship of the one who makes it.

In undertaking any piece of research it is necessary to know what work has already been done on the specific subject and what is the value of each item of published materials. Therefore a carefully prepared bibliography is one of the first essentials of exploration.

The use of slips of paper is advisable in making bibliographies. Slips of paper are less expensive than cards, and if cut from a good quality of stiff paper will serve the purpose well. A convenient size is four by six inches. Such slips of paper can be kept in an alphabetical order without difficulty. They can be added to continually without being disarranged in any way.

The making of a bibliography is a three-fold process. In the first place there is the mere collecting of titles, authors' names, publishers' names, dates of publication; secondly, there is the actual examination of the references, and the judging them, rejecting those that have little or no value; thirdly, there is the making of notes on the content of the references. In this latter work it is wise to take notes wherever helpful suggestions are found, thus saving another examination of the reference later.

A uniform system for making bibliography references is essential. References to books and documents, as distinguished from articles in journals, may be made in the following order: Author's name, his

initials, title of book *exactly* stated and underscored,³ then in parentheses the place of publication followed by a colon, the publisher's name in full, and the date; after the second parenthesis, in case a portion of the book is referred to instead of the whole volume, the particular chapter, chapters, or pages should be designated.

If the reference is to an article, the order of making the citation may be as follows: Author's name, his initials, title of the article exactly stated and in quotation marks, name of magazine in full and underscored, the number of the volume of the journal, a colon, and the pages that are included. If the issue of the journal to which reference is made is current and hence unbound, the month and year should be added in parentheses. The titles of pamphlets and of all documents in paper covers that are completed and independent studies in themselves, such as bulletins, may be treated as books rather than as articles, and underscored rather than set off by commas.

(Sample Bibliography)

- Elliott, Mabel A., and Francis E. Merrill, *Social Disorganization* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934).
- Galitz, Christine, "Public Control of Social Work," *Sociology and Social Research*, XX:219-228 (January-February, 1936).
- Howard, George Elliott, "The Social Psychology of the Spectator," *American Journal of Sociology*, XVIII:33-50.
- Nimkoff, Meyer F., *The Child* (Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1934), Ch. VII.

The first place in which to search for bibliographic items is in the card catalogues of libraries, college, university, city, and special.⁴ These will give access to the titles of books and documents that have been published. The *United States Catalogue* is a very useful reference work.

³ The purpose of the underscoring is to indicate that the given words would be italicized if they were to appear in print.

⁴ If special catalogues, or copies of the filing cards, for example, of the Library of Congress, of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, or of the British Museum, are available in a given library they will be found to be of inestimable value.

A second important treasure house of titles is the *International Guide*, in which will be found classified by years or by groups of years the titles of new articles appearing in the scientific or in the near-scientific journals.⁵ A third source of titles of articles is the *Reader's Guide* which contains references to the best materials published in the popular magazines.⁶

Often the inquirer will find himself swamped by the large number of references to articles, and perhaps books also, to his research field, but he can acquire facility in detecting metal-laden ores. He will give primary attention to those materials that appear in the standard social science journals. Likewise he will rate at the top materials published by well-known authorities in the various social science fields. Names of writers in the social science fields will come, as one gains experience, to signify peculiar biases. Through training the student will learn to evaluate articles and books, even of authorities, with skill. He will not be dazzled by a great name; neither will he underrate the important work of unknown authors. He will learn not to accept new ideas uncritically or to scorn the old impatiently.

Articles of one or two pages in length only, articles of any length in newspapers and the popular weeklies, unsigned articles and editorials need to be viewed with special caution. Occasionally, however, a brief unsigned article or an editorial a column, or half a column long, will contain a research suggestion, or a new idea of first magnitude. In other words, length is not necessarily a criterion of quality.

Annotation is important. Each item in a research bibliography needs to be accompanied by a brief descriptive statement of the content of the article or book. A one-sentence description of the contents of an article is usually long enough, if it be packed full of succinct thinking. Two or more sentences may be used to convey the

⁵ *The International Index* dates back to 1905 and is published by the H. W. Wilson Company.

⁶ *Poole's Index* was the predecessor of the *Reader's Guide*. The change occurred in 1905.

gist or main point of a book. Considerable training is required to make an annotated bibliography that is both accurate and to the point.⁷

The notation concerning each bibliographic reference may be brief, perhaps limited to one or two sentences. In any case, the notation should describe the contents of the book or article rather than pass judgment. It is better to confine one's self to a descriptive statement, thus to allow any reader to make up his own mind concerning the merits of the citation. Two illustrations will be given: the first is unsatisfactory, the second, satisfactory.

Bernard, L. L., *First Course Objectives, Sociology and Social Research*, XX:203-214 (January-February, 1936).

A splendid article presenting a number of commendable aims in teaching introductory sociology.

Longmoor, Elsa Laura. An Ecological Approach to the Study of Juvenile Delinquency in Long Beach, California. A.M. 1935, 65 pp., 6 diagrams, 11 maps, 10 tables, bibliography of 70 titles.

The graphic correlation of data on juvenile delinquency, public relief, and population mobility reveals (1) marked differences in rates in different city areas, being highest in transition areas, (2) closely similar distribution patterns for all three sets of data, and (3) probably common underlying causative factors.

The student cannot be too careful in regard to accuracy as to details, even to the point of watching his punctuation carefully, in making a bibliography. The student's attitude toward such an insignificant matter as a comma is significant. This may be indicative of the quality of all his work. "Attention to details" is an essential research slogan.

In analyzing the content of articles and books in any field it is important to look for suggestions for further study. No article is well written that does not indicate unexplored questions or problems for further or later study. These questions point toward the chief areas of unexplored territory where the need is greatest for research.

⁷ It is not customary to evaluate an article or book in the given annotation. If you say: "This is a good article," you have not indicated the nature of the materials but simply your own viewpoint. It is much better to tell what ground the article or book presents and to allow the reader of the bibliography to judge whether the article is valuable or not.

The literature materials on any theme are to be analyzed sociologically. If they contain facts, what are the meanings of these? If they are descriptive, what coexistences and sequences do they show? Each conclusion that is given in research literature is but a stepping stone for investigation and revised conclusions.

To make a *bibliography of bibliographies* is sometimes necessary. Some fields of research have been studied from several angles before a given piece of research is undertaken, and hence more than one bibliography may have been previously made. Sometimes scholars in different countries have worked in the same research field and bibliographies in more than one language make necessary a bibliography of bibliographies.

THE DEFINITION TYPE OF EXPLORATION

There is both a general and a specific definition phase of exploration. *General definition* refers to stating the limits of the problem that is being studied. Most problems are phrased either too loosely or too broadly. It is important to cut down the extent of a problem and to set definite limits to a specific piece of research. On the other hand there need be no limits to the intensiveness of research. In fact the more intensive a piece of research the better it will be done and the more valuable and fundamental will be the results.

It is also worth while to outline clearly the survey, the investigation, and the research phases of an inquiry. The survey is a preliminary gathering of a wide range of data; the investigation is the securing of facts both of an extensive and an intensive nature concerning a social problem, while research, particularly social research is a penetration to the meanings of facts about social situations.

General definition involves coming to a common agreement concerning basic and universal terms in social research. For instance, what is a social problem? Dr. Clarence M. Case has offered a significant definition. To him it is "a social situation which attracts the attention of a considerable number of competent observers within a society, and appeals to them as calling for adjustment or remedy by

social, i.e., collective action of some kind or other.”⁸ In other words, a problem does not exist unless the people involved recognize it.

Another basic term in social research that may be mentioned for illustrative purposes is *social situation*. Research concerning any social problem involves a situation in which the interactions of two or more persons are paramount.

Particular definition relates to statements of the sense in which each of a number of special terms in a given research undertaking is being used. For example, the Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey in 1924 had not proceeded far before it was evident that different research workers were using even common terms, such as race, community, competition, in different ways, and hence were misunderstanding each other. Moreover, the layman used the same terms in his own and still different ways. Thus, the determination of a careful, accurate, and basic usage of terms is a minimum essential. A series of conferences of the workers on a research project is necessary before a common definition of terms may be agreed upon.

In another sense definition refers to the various ways in which the persons in a problem situation interpret the situation or the problem to themselves. This point, which will be discussed in a later chapter, is one of the most important, if not the most important, type of definition.

A CATALOGUE OF RESEARCH SOURCES

A useful phase of exploration is to make a census of all the persons who have had any experiences related to the research theme. If the research project relates in any way to a particular area, this type of exploration will include the listing of leaders and ordinary residents of the area who have had anything important to do with the situations that are involved in the research.

The building up of a list of persons from whom to get data either of a statistical or of an interview nature will be most efficient if done

⁸ “What is a Social Problem?” *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VIII:268.

according to a system. Slips of paper, four by six inches in size, will serve the purpose well. A sample notation follows:

Jones, Ralph, M.D., 1215 First Street, Los Angeles. Owner, estate, 350 acres, San Diego County. Has employed Chinese, Japanese and Mexican labor. Knows Chinese best. Remembers the Sand Lot agitation and is familiar with the whole history of the efforts to exclude Orientals from the United States.⁹

In a single research undertaking a total of several hundred names with annotations may easily be gathered. Moreover, the list grows. Many of the persons, when interviewed, will suggest two, three, or more key persons who possess valuable information. A secondary notation of this sort may read:

You ought to see Mr. ———; he can give first-hand information about Japanese workers on his ranch. Mrs. ——— was a leader in the anti-Japanese campaign there two years ago. Her little girl was in a school where there were some over-grown Oriental boys. The Presbyterian preacher in that town "stood up" for the Japanese, and had his life threatened.¹⁰

Some of these references, of course, will prove of little or no help. Perhaps ten or twenty per cent will be of great assistance and will make basic and vital contributions to the research work. Moreover, some of the persons will become permanently interested in the social problem under study and will develop new and enlightened attitudes in regard to it.

In this way, also, organizations and agencies may be catalogued. Persons or institutions which hold important documents may be located by this follow-up method of listing sources of data. Important scrapbooks, sets of letters, and other pertinent information may be discovered. Major and minor documents of value may be ferreted out by this method.

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL EXPLORATION

All social data may be traced back to antecedents. "Since everything has a history, everything may be understood partly by its history." This history includes an account of both facts and processes.

⁹ R. E. Park, "A Race Relations Survey," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VIII:102.

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*

The history of a social problem includes descriptive accounts from several different angles of antecedent events.

Cultural backgrounds are also a part of every research picture. Different culture traits come into juxtaposition and conflicts result. To understand the nature of the culture traits in a social situation is to understand oftentimes the nature of the conflict problem. Full historical and cultural perspectives are valuable results of social exploration.

Comparative exploration is also vital. In research it is important to compare findings with findings. Bibliographic materials give the first opportunity for making comparisons. Then, as research proceeds its workers may return from time to time to preceding studies that are in print. As research advances the meanings of other and similar studies take on new meanings. Thus, "the universality and meritability of certain phenomena become more defined in form and in their relation to other phenomena" than they seem to be at the beginning of a research enterprise.

Only as the literature and all the other phases of a research undertaking develop can comparisons be made. Only as data from various sources begin to accumulate can the research worker develop a real perspective. Only as the entire landscape of attitudes and values involved in a conflict situation grows distinct, does the problem itself begin to be clarified.

The social explorer requires versatility, for he needs to be on the outlook continually for all kinds of clues.¹¹ Complete openmindedness is another important trait, for the consideration of each new social problem involves new methods of procedure and minds trained to detect new truths. At no time can the social explorer be absolutely sure or dogmatic; neither can he rely with full assurance on his past research successes, not even on those of yesterday. Science cannot be

¹¹ E. S. Bogardus, "The Social Explorer," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, IX:143-147.

dogmatic, not even with reference to what it has proved today, for the findings of tomorrow may disprove those of today.¹²

The successful social explorer is one who is well versed in penetrating the inner courts of human nature, in securing accurate and complete accounts of personal experiences and life histories, and in penetrating through the externalities of life to the origins of human attitudes and values. The true social explorer never ceases to search for all the hidden founts of attitudes and values.

The principles of exploration need to be followed at every step of research. As each new question arises unbiased exploration needs to be brought into play at once and kept to the front clear through to the completion of each phase. As a research study comes to a close it is normal that there should be on hand more unanswered questions than at the beginning of the research. No matter how significant the "findings" may be, the need will be evident for more and more exploration.

Exploration is not to be viewed as being simply preliminary to research. It operates throughout research. Exploration is necessary at every stage, in the preliminary inquiries, in gathering statistical data, in interviewing, in analyzing the research materials, in arriving at conclusions, and in preparing the final report. Moreover, the concluding of any phase of research will normally list the ways in which further exploration is in order.

¹² An excellent volume for the social explorer to have at hand is one giving a bibliography of books and articles on methods of social research. For example, see Dorothy C. Culver, *Methodology of Social Science Research: a Bibliography*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936).

CHAPTER II

ORGANIZING RESEARCH

To be conducted efficiently exploration requires a procedure. Any plan of research must be as simple, informal, and inflexible as possible. Customary procedure, biases arising out of the past, and an unwillingness to try new ideas are dangerous. By its nature a plan channels and limits behavior but to a degree it is necessary in order to prevent dissipation of effort.

SECURING ASSISTANTS

In any piece of social research a number of persons may be willing to help, but only a very small percentage will have had the proper background and training necessary to adjust themselves to the research project in hand. In a large piece of research nearly all who are deeply interested may find a place. Each person can be fitted into the total scheme either in furnishing clues to data or in helping to interview people and collecting other information. Whether one is a novice in social exploration or a professionally trained person, he finds the rules of research procedure to be much the same.¹

Graduate students preparing a master's thesis or a doctoral dissertation may obtain a valuable training through mastering research techniques. In pursuing the work for a dissertation they are able to concentrate wholeheartedly and fully for a period of time, and represent perhaps the most satisfactory type of research workers outside the professional field of research. The zest and thrill of discovery are theirs, and they may develop skill and originality.

Teachers who engage in research to any degree usually find it necessary to be released from a part or all of their work for a time, and

¹ Cf. Mary Van Kleeck, "Procedure Followed in Studying the Industrial Representation Plan of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company," *Journal of Personnel Research*, IV:133-154

report that the contacts made and the new points of view obtained have added immeasurably to the content of their subsequent teaching. In fact they urge the necessity of alternating, with some degree of regularity, teaching and administrative work with research work.

In the Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles² the research workers who were men were asked to begin by writing out their most interesting experiences, their conflicts and accommodations *as* boys, and then to write of their interesting experiences *with* boys, even with a brother, playmates, or others. Exercises such as these proved worthwhile. To do them well requires some training in psycho-social analysis. The results are beneficial in helping the research worker in his actual interviews with boys later on. They give him insight into boys' remarks, put him on his guard against boys' subtleties, and enable him to pursue certain interviews that otherwise would be terminated too soon.

Such an exercise indicates when a person is ready to do successful interviewing. It shows who will likely make the best interviewers, who will need further training, and who had better turn to other research tasks.

Older mature persons who "volunteer" do not as a rule make satisfactory research workers. They are likely to have such preconceived notions of "how the thing ought to be done" that their usefulness in scientific research is cut down. They are often concerned with "proving" this or that proposition, and their interest in practical goals is so great that all they do is colored and narrowed by particular utilitarian aims. They have difficulty in understanding the scientific approach and in getting back to fundamental ecological bases. Exploration sometimes aggravates them. Their interest in "facts" and other formal data hinders them greatly in penetrating to the meanings of data and in analyzing processes. Their difficulty in understanding attitudes and values is frequently a serious handicap.

In research there are often persons who insist on obtaining results

² See E. S. Bogardus, *The City Boy and His Problems* (Los Angeles: House of Ralston Printers, 1926).

quickly, who insist on thinking in terms of the practical results of the research and what may be expected to come of it, who view everything in the light of possible reform, forgetting that constant thinking in terms of "what may be expected" would at once bias research itself and deliberately direct it to certain ends.

Not all persons have sufficient patience to let research grow naturally. Some are prone first to pass judgment on a social situation, to call it good or bad, and then investigate it rather than to find out its actual nature first and perhaps afterward, if need be, to pass judgment.

An important procedure is to ask beginners in research who wish a place in a research organization to secure simple data. The way in which they go about this exercise and the results which they obtain make it easy to classify them as to research efficiency. The more promising may then be given a more advanced task and the training process may go on.

The ability of the student to try and to utilize various methods of procedure is important, because each social situation may be different in some ways from all other situations and may call for versatility in research methods. The phases of a social situation that are "different" must be approached by careful explorers, and a research organization must be composed of flexible workers.

An important question regarding procedure in research came up in the Boys' Work Survey: Should a person be assigned to study a phase of a problem in so far as this phase affected many agencies, or should he cover an agency with reference to all of its possible data regarding every aspect of the research problem? If the first method is pursued, then a dozen other research persons perhaps would be coming to each agency for data concerning their respective phases of the research problem. If the second method is followed then one research person must study a dozen different aspects of the research problem.

The solution finally adopted was to assign each person to a phase of the research problem and to an agency both, perhaps to the agency

where he could obtain the most materials for his phase of the problem. When he wanted materials from another agency, he sought them through the person assigned "to cover" that agency. The latter worker would either obtain the desired materials himself, or secure *entree* for the first person. At any rate the plan, which proved satisfactory, protected the public and private agencies from being stampeded by too many research workers. The good will of the agencies was maintained, which of course, is a valuable asset.

Another question is whether the research student should go directly to the head of an agency and work down, for data; or begin at the bottom of the agency's staff and work up. If he begins at the top, which would appear to be proper procedure, he is likely to find someone who has had an unfortunate experience in opening up the agency's records to examination, especially if the agency's activities have been under fire in any way or possess serious weaknesses. The agency may have such weak spots in its activities that its executive will refuse to aid in the given research project.

The answer to the problem depends as a rule on the degree of rapport that exists between the research director and the agency's executive. If this rapport is lacking and if the data that the agency can give are vital then it is probably better to begin with some individual member of the agency's staff and to "work up." In this instance it is exceedingly important not to betray any confidences of the staff representative and not to bring the particular agency directly into the final picture. Oftentimes the chief executive of an agency can be won over through patience and through special appeals. Sometimes an executive will recognize the fact that to have his agency unmentioned is to indict it, and that he had better cooperate.

Another problem centers around the executive of an agency or a business house who obviously is willing to give only that data which will put his institution before the public in a favorable light. In this case, however, it usually is possible to secure accurate statements of an agency's problems providing such materials are used in a way that do not disclose the identity of the given institution. Very often an

executive will grow increasingly interested in the problems of his own institution and will receive such new stimuli for solution of his problems that he can be won over to a hearty cooperation in the research project.

It is necessary from time to time to step out of the beaten paths of research methods and to go trekking about, inquiring of chance individuals as well as of selected persons, securing significant experiences which afford clues for further research. The research student is always a first-class explorer who understands that exploration is both irregular and systematic, unorganized and standardized; that it plunges into the woods as well as follows the highways; that it penetrates uncharted territory as well as holds to established procedure; that it follows accepted methods whenever certain types of situations or processes repeat themselves; and that it explores and devises new methods whenever anything new and different is encountered.

A CLIPPING BUREAU

In connection with an investigation of a social question which has attracted the attention of the newspapers, it is important to explore all pertinent news items with care. If the question is historical, then it will be necessary to use the newspaper files in libraries, and to make notes of significant items. If the question is current, then the leading daily newspapers may be used as a basis for a research clipping bureau.

The clipping bureau plan is to cut out of representative morning and evening newspapers all items that relate in any way to the problem which is being investigated. In the Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles, the clippings soon began to fall into types, such as those dealing with accidents to boys, with offences against property, offences against public policy and city ordinances, with athletics, with educational honors, with employment. The locations of accidents made possible an accidents-to-boys map, and indicated the need for

special studies. Offences against property gave introductory materials for behavior problem studies.

It was found that the newspaper clippings show what a boy does that is "news"; they afford a special chance to study news values and public opinion regarding a specific problem. Changes in the trend of a problem or of a social movement, and in public opinion regarding a given issue, are revealed in newspaper clippings over a period of time.

The uneven nature of newspaper space that is accorded different situations is revealed in the case of the boys who won \$375.00 in prizes for scholarship and essay writing but who received twenty-three lines of space once only, while another boy who was involved in a murder case was given from one-half column to three columns almost daily for eighteen days. In nearly every case the basis of according newspaper space is somewhat indicative of public interest.

Indirectly, newspaper clippings are of immense explorative significance. Each will usually give a name or names of a person or of persons who are involved in one way or another in the problem situation, and who if interviewed properly might constitute an important source of data. The clipping bureau that is set up for a particular social problem regularly furnishes new clues or "leads" for personal interviews and for the securing of new and first-hand research materials.

The clipping bureau may be developed as a permanent adjunct for research purposes. It may be maintained in connection with classes, for example, in juvenile delinquency or criminology, in race psychology, or in industrial sociology. From each class students may be selected to take turns in clipping a morning and an evening newspaper, seeking out all references relating to the particular field of human relations. If properly classified these clippings will be ready for use in studying any problem to which they relate.³

³ Such a system of clipping newspapers is also of class-room value. In this way the world of striking relationships in specific fields of study may be brought into the class-room and analyzed at regular intervals.

For permanent reference, clippings need to be well classified and pasted by topics on extra-heavy paper or very thin cardboard, eight and one-half by eleven inches in size for filing with letter-size materials. Only the clippings of special significance need to be preserved for reference in this way.

Somewhat related to the clipping bureau procedure is the collecting of pictures. A good picture reveals factors that often escape the naked eye, and indicates points for examination and study. Pictures well taken often disclose significant relationships or persons, and of persons and environment. Photographs are interesting studies in attitudes. Then, of course, photographs are valuable for making facts and findings visual and stimulating to the public when the time arrives to make the findings known.

PUBLICITY

Publicity previous to starting a research project often hinders the gathering of materials. Such announcements may be taken advantage of and exploited by the newspapers, with the result that persons who might contribute valuable data are fearful of doing so. The greater the publicity about a research study before it is made, the greater the opportunity for persons possessing information to rationalize about the data beforehand.

In the traditional social survey of a community, however, publicity is sought beforehand. All civic and social organizations are apprised that a survey is to be made. The attention of the leaders as well as of the rank and file of the community is aroused. The idea is that of getting as many persons as possible to participate, to furnish data, "to talk up the survey," to contribute funds, to feel that the survey is their own enterprise.

Also, in a money-raising campaign for a church, or a college, full publicity regarding the merits of the proposed undertaking is given. The interest of as many people is aroused in the project as possible, before the campaign is inaugurated. Thus, people are given notice of what is to be expected of them because their subscription will de-

pend on having their interest developed, and on their weighing properly their own responsibility in the matter.

Likewise, in political life, wide publicity is given a proposed bond issue, a fight for a bill involving social reform, or the candidacy of a worthy citizen for office. Billboards, hand posters, mass meetings, newspaper space, all these are used to challenge people's attention and to get them interested.

Hence, publicity precedes many community and civic improvements. The need for an antecedent publicity has been established so thoroughly in the minds of most civic promoters that any other method is discounted.

A reverse situation, however, exists with reference to social research that involves attitudes and opinions. To the extent that general and spectacular publicity of the ordinary type, which is likely to be superficial when judged scientifically, precedes research, the latter is hindered.

By social research is meant not the scratching of a large social surface, but rather a boring deep into and releasing as many personal experiences and attitudes as possible. Social research seeks out personal experiences of all kinds; it is especially desirous of securing the life histories of key persons in a conflict situation. It is also interested in memories, myths, and traditions.⁴

An ultimate and undefined aim of social research is that of helping one person to understand the actions of another, of one side of a controversy to understand why the other side acts in the way that it does. This aim also includes the relieving of social tensions so that accommodation may take place and needed adjustments be made. The indirect and remote aim is human improvement.

Social research that makes a study of attitudes that may be largely subjective, that can easily be "covered up" is an entirely different matter from a housing survey where the main exercise is often that of counting windows, measuring air space, and dealing with material

⁴ R. E. Park, "A Race Relations Survey," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VII:202.

objects. Social research that studies personal experiences as the main sources of attitudes and values, requires a non-publicity approach.

In order that experiences and memories may be related "fully and freely," it is necessary to approach people naturally, with as little trumpet blowing as possible, without a challenging call to battle. If I announce through publicity measures that I am going to make a study of a social conflict situation in which you have played a part and have had interesting experiences, then you will begin promptly to anticipate the coming of investigators. Will you begin to think over your experiences and memories with reference to the truth, or with reference to the role that you are going to play in the investigation? Will you think about your experiences in order to state them as accurately as possible, or will you work them over so as to make as good a showing for your side of the conflict as possible?

If you judge that your experiences will lower your status and reflect unfavorably upon your cause, you will be tempted, consciously or unconsciously, to put the personally unfavorable facts in the background, bring forward the personally creditable elements, and otherwise get "ready" for the investigation. You will think of your experiences in the light of the effect of their description upon your side of the conflict, upon the cause in which you are interested, and upon your status.

If in the given conflict situation people are divided into "pros" and "cons," and you are on one side, then publicity regarding a coming investigation will be likely to arouse your partisanship and to increase your one-sidedness. You will think over your experiences not in their own light but in the light of the coming investigation. When an investigator arrives you will be prepared as *advocate* for or against somebody or something. Your testimony will be less reliable than if you had not "prepared" your experiences for the specific investigation.

An effect of antecedent publicity upon research is reported by William C. Smith who calls attention to the way in which some of the materials were secured for Van Tyne's *India in Ferment*. Van Tyne's

coming to India was preceded by much publicity. "From the time he received a wireless at sea from the Governor of Bombay the stage was all set for him. At several places he was met by groups with prepared addresses. Behind these masks the author has not penetrated far."⁵

Another research person reports that he was studying a conflict between two factions of a given race in a certain community, but that presently it "became noised about that a survey was being made of this conflict," and at once all parties on both sides "closed up like a clam," declaring that everything was harmonious. Unnecessary publicity made further study at this time fruitless. Even the statement that "nothing is to be proved by this survey," had no effect. The publicity had done its deadly work and there was no way to offset the ill effects upon further research.

Antecedent publicity is likely to put some persons in an excited state. The extent to which persons grow excited measures in a way the degree to which they will be hindered in reproducing their experiences reliably. The undertaking of social research does not lend itself at all to the method of certain religious evangelists who first create as much excitement as possible and then seek to make conversions.

The most significant personal experiences and hence the most valuable research data are usually told only to intimate acquaintances. A person does not ordinarily tell all that he knows to public investigators. He reveals the most significant materials, especially if he be culpable in any way, when he feels *most secure*, when publicity is farthest removed rather than when it is most active, in fact when he thinks least about publicity. When a research project is widely advertised the free and full confession spirit that is needful if all the useful knowledge is to be obtained, is smothered.

It is important that the organization of research be conducted in a way that will not excite social tensions which have been developed

⁵ *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VIII:297.

in a given controversial situation. Without spectacular publicity and a research money-raising campaign tensions may remain normal until the research findings can be made and have a chance to relieve the tensions.

Further, it is important that unnecessary overhead be kept to a minimum and that a maximum percentage of the available money goes into actual research. When publicity is required there are two types or degrees, namely, expensive and inexpensive. By a little effort and inquiry it is often possible to meet the need for publicity at a reasonable expense.

Publicity of findings has a curative function. Let the scientific results be put in as interesting forms as possible and made as understandable as an ordinary humorous story told by an after dinner speaker. Most persons will get the "point" at once; social tensions may be relieved and accommodation be started on its way.

At the beginning of a social research undertaking no "findings" have yet been made and hence in a research sense there is nothing regarding which to give publicity. Therefore, let findings precede publicity, is a normal research rule. In the physical sciences research is going on all the time unheralded. Research persons work away year after year in their laboratories but only now and then a discovery is given publicity. Social science research need not try to do better.

It is entirely easy to secure publicity for research. The newspapers will print anything that is "news," and what is more "newsy" than personal experiences that are just being brought to the surface regarding an industrial conflict or any other social conflict. The newspapers are hungry for any striking anecdotes, any personal stories, any unique "memories," all of which constitute leading types of social research materials. In fact, some newspapers are too hungry for such materials; they give so much and such spectacular publicity that they augment social tensions and otherwise hinder the ongoing of genuine social research.

No publicity until experience-data have been secured as naturally as possible and interpreted as objectively as possible and then a hundred per cent publicity for all the data except the confidential materials: this is the summary of the whole matter. As little antecedent publicity as possible, but extensive subsequent publicity: this is a reasonable standard. Antecedent publicity augments social tensions and prevents genuine research; subsequent publicity may release tensions and make further research possible.

FINANCING RESEARCH

Small pieces of research can be made by students acting in a volunteer capacity, but larger undertakings require money. Even the smallest study calls for expense accounts. The problem of securing money for a large piece of research as well as the nature of the financial backing is of importance. A university usually has some research funds, but it may be necessary to find persons or organizations who are willing to finance research. The latter may be easily located if the research is to prove or disprove some proposition in which the person or organization is interested. If these contributors be persons of practical affairs or actively conducting a leading type of business, the research workers cannot wholly escape the logic of expectation or a sense of proprieties in case data unfavorable to the interest of the financial contributors are discovered. Prospective givers frequently want to know how the research is going to help their interests; and naturally so if they have the business viewpoint rather than the purely scientific viewpoint. They are essentially partisan rather than disinterested.

The best sources, perhaps, for financing a social research project aside from university funds is a "foundation" established for scientific purposes by persons of wealth motivated by scientific attitudes. If the "foundation" has headquarters remote from the scene of research, then to secure individual gifts for scientific research from the local constituency will be wholesome. The problem of exploration thus includes securing sufficient funds from scientifically-minded

sources within the community in question, as well as from the outside. It is only fair that the local community participate in one way or another in meeting the cost at least in part of research within its own area. It is all-important, however, that funds "without strings attached" be secured.

A few samples of research data put in the hands of persons of means who realize the value of scientific procedure is a standard means of securing funds. Even small sums of money so obtained without any implied obligations of any kind except those of scientific purpose, for obtaining the most important data and of interpreting these in the most objective, understandable ways possible, are worth more than ten-fold larger sums that are secured by rather expensive publicity methods from persons who want something proved this way or that, who are expecting some business gain, or who are anticipating particular results.

As fast as money is obtained let as much of it as possible be put into gathering research materials. Such valuable materials actually in hand are usually more effective in obtaining money for scientific purposes than deluxe editions of an expensive prospectus of what is "going to be done." Achievement makes a deeper appeal than promises. Social research does not require the expenditure of a large overhead.

CHAPTER III

ECOLOGICAL APPROACH

In many types of social problems the ecological approach is vital. Problems involving a number of people living in a given area may be viewed to good advantage in ecological terms. Problems involving the spatial relationships of human beings call for a consideration of the ecological elements. Population relationships, distances, and pressures are important ecological factors. A study of physical location often explains social conflicts.

People seem to arrange themselves somewhat like iron filings do under the influence of magnetism.¹ At any rate, in any local community people are found distributed in spatial relationships somewhat after the manner of the "competitive cooperation" of plant communities.² A preliminary examination of the ecology of a social conflict usually reveals natural areas where compatibles and incompatibles live together with boundaries marked off by hills, rivers, railroad tracks and yards, and industrial districts. These natural areas are to be distinguished from administrative and political areas that are set off by unreal and artificial lines on a map. These lines often cut ruthlessly across natural areas as in the case of fantastically gerrymandered districts, throwing people into different political districts and dividing their strength in the solving of their problems. Sometimes people of different interests find themselves in the same political district, thus cancelling each other's influence.

Still more important, ecologically, are culture patterns which divide people into compatibles and incompatibles, and which often determine conflicts and accommodations, attitudes and values. Contradictory culture patterns easily lead to competition, misunderstanding, conflict, feuds, and a wide range of social problems.

¹ Erle F. Young, "The Social Base Map," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, IX:202.

² In plant ecology considerable attention is given to symbiosis.

Position is a concept which is an important ecological tool for research. Position shows the spatial relationships of persons. It gives a picture, a bird's-eye view, of the place relationships which exist between people.

Position indicates possible contacts between persons, between groups, the possible invasion of one area by the people of another. People in a ghetto, for example, have a limited variety of social contacts, while the same people when distributed over a large city have a far greater range of contacts. "Place relations," or position, is a useful research concept.

"Time relations" is another research tool of importance. If one people invade rapidly the area occupied by another people, the possibilities of arousing antagonism are many and the rise of social problems certain. "Speed of invasion may be a measure of resistance to invader."

"Job relations" are also significant. The invasion of one occupation by large numbers of recruits brings down the wages. Job relations affect status, and hence play an important part in many social problems.

Spatial nearness and social clustering also require research attention. The interpretations of physical proximity vary with social factors. Closeness of contact is as likely to end in prejudice, rioting, or murder, as in cordiality and assimilation. On the other hand, sparseness of contact may be overcome suddenly and unexpectedly, for example, by new inventions or applications of inventions in communication, and lead to unexpected problems.

The spatial position of a social group, however, makes clear some of the phenomena arising out of its contacts with other groups. It denotes the probable competition for food and housing; it reveals transportation problems, intercommunication needs, and economic exchange possibilities. Spatial positions are "traffic and travel" signboards to a more intensive study of human relation problems; they indicate the "axial and skeletal" delineations of a community. The clustering of homes in an agricultural community in China suggests

a social life that is different from that of the isolated homesteads of rural America. The "hiding out" of gangsters in a certain section of a complex urban community indicates many special problems of a socially disorganized nature.

It is also important to know whether a specific area possesses open or closed economic resources. If the first-mentioned situation obtains, economic and social relations are relatively free. Newcomers are welcomed. An increase in population is encouraged: immigrants are "sent for." If an area is one of closed resources, social relations tend to become increasingly competitive, conflicting and bitter; weaker members die out, or become accommodated on a low culture level. No new "invasions" are welcome, and ultimately the whole social group may engage in petty feuds or settle down in stagnation.

When the spatial positions of individuals are examined closely, they are usually found to exist in the form of clusters or constellations. (1) There is the type of constellation in which one social class, race, or group has developed a vested interest in an area. Accordingly, it attributes to itself a superior ability or may even make claims of being the special recipient of Divine favor. Dominance of control is not a debatable question.

Within the established group or interspersed in its area are usually the members of other social groups. When these possess traditions and customs similar to those of the dominant group, accommodations are numerous and even assimilation may occur. The older, larger, and dominant group is likely, however, to absorb the "invading" group.

(2) Sometimes a segregated group may draw to itself other segregated groups. Thus a cluster of minority groups may occur. Through a common isolation from the major or dominant group, each of the subordinate groups becomes partly accommodated to the others. Within such a cluster there is likely to be a number of petty quarrels and running feuds, arising out of narrow and distinct traditions.

(3) Another constellation type is that in which a subordinate group has become dominant in an area within that of the older

group. The subordinate group is allowed certain privileges by the dominant group. In return the subordinate group must remain in its place; it agrees to refrain from attacking the dominant group's status. It maintains its own life apart. The contacts between it and the dominant group occur chiefly around the edges, where live people of low status in the dominant group, interspersed with the subordinate group. In these overlapping areas of a dominant group and of a subordinate group, a "competitive cooperation" may occur as in plant communities.

SOCIAL BASE MAPS

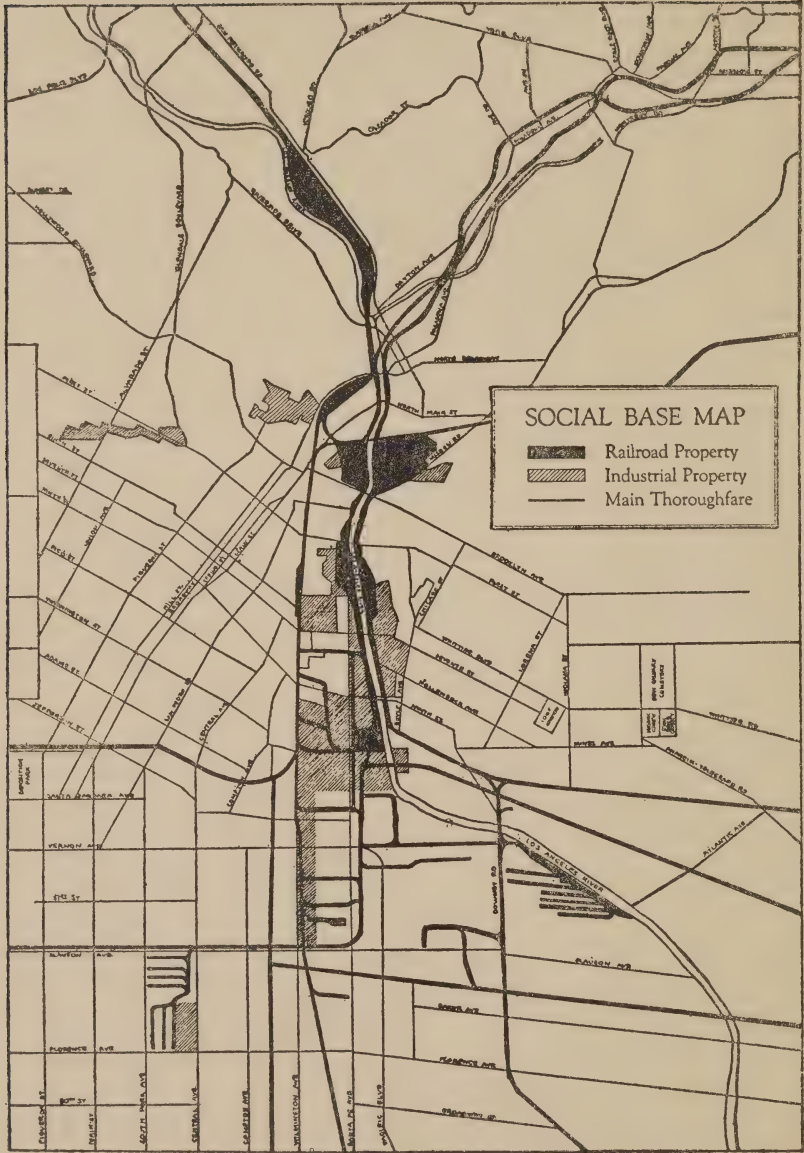
A *social base map* is a valuable tool for ecological research. It shows the natural population areas of compatibles and incompatibles, together with the natural physical barriers such as rivers, lakes, hills, and the chief artificial barriers, such as canals, railroads, railroad yards, elevated roads with their embankments, traffic boulevards, industrial districts, factories, warehouses, and lumber yards.

These barriers often operate to divide a local community into smaller neighborhood and retail trade areas. There is an irregular seepage through these boundaries at their weakest points of people of the lower economic levels. There is also a leaping of these boundaries by people of financial means. As a result of this two-fold migration the population composition of any community undergoes change and develops clashes, conflicts, and accommodations.

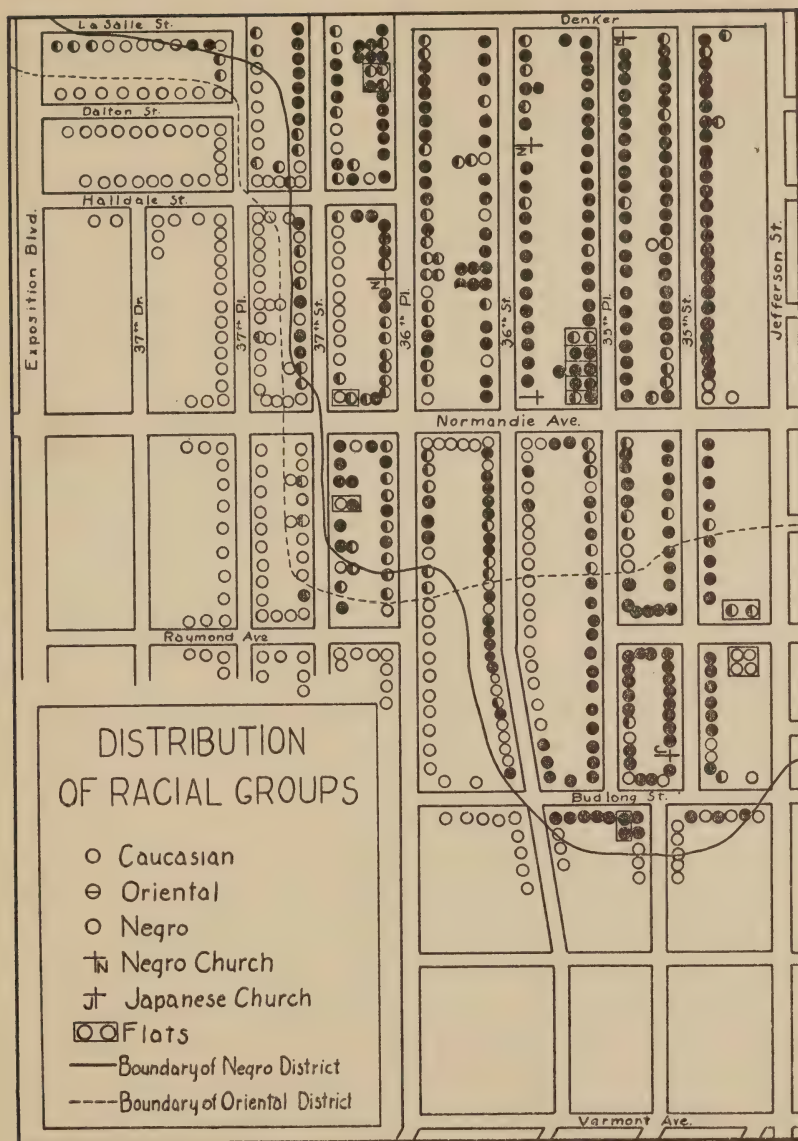
Map I is a reduced social base map of Los Angeles. It indicates basic barriers and some of the natural dividing lines between natural areas. On it a great variety of data for an entire series of social research maps may be placed.

The social base map enables the student (1) "to make direct graphic correlations of the data with the more permanent significant geographic elements of communal structure, and (2) to plot the data so that their relation to the various natural areas of communal organization is immediately apparent."³

³ Erle F. Young, "The Social Base Map," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, IX:204.



MAP I



MAP II

A social base map which will serve this dual function will, of course, show features now usually shown on maps, such as rivers, lakes, hills, and other topographic aspects, street layouts, bridges, tunnels, and transportation systems. In addition it should show some important permanent aspects of communal organization. For this purpose land usage presents certain advantages. A convenient classification by usage is: (1) railroad property; (2) industrial property; (3) commercial property; (4) public and private parks and boulevards, cemeteries, golf links, and so on; (5) residential areas; and (6) vacant property. Each type of usage should be distinguished by some convenient symbol which will not interfere with the plotting of data directly over it.⁴

The following use of symbols has been suggested by Dr. E. F. Young: railroad property, solid black; industrial property, medium weight diagonal cross-hatched lines; commercial frontage, a heavy solid line along the front of the block; parks, boulevards, cemeteries, stippled; vacant blocks may be represented by a broken line; and residential areas, a full line. Blue line prints may be made of this base from the tracing, and colored inks may be used for plotting on these prints.

Spot maps are useful in showing the clustering of families, social institutions, and the like. Through indicating the addresses of families by dots on social base maps it is possible to locate population centers and foci of congestion. Then by drawing a line roughly about the cluster it is possible to indicate the boundaries of specific groups of people. Map II is of this type. It shows the location of Caucasian, Oriental, and Negro families in a given city area and something of the symbiotic relationship that has developed.

The two-position or direction map shows movement and its direction. It indicates tendencies of concentration, of segregation, of succession, and points to potential conflicts. Map III illustrates the type, although it relates to a particular form of behavior, and shows in what directions runaway girls move and what areas are particularly attractive to such girls. The larger map of which Map III is a section reveals that rooming-house areas and beach resorts lead in drawing power for runaway girls.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

A three dimension map is illustrated by one showing land usages and values by plaster Paris elevations. The relief map technique is used. Different elevations will denote different land values, block by block, with high elevations for lots used or zoned for business purposes and with lower elevations for lots reserved for residences. The uneven surface of a map of several city blocks may bear upon its face the uses to which each lot is put. Different colors may designate different land usages. In explaining this and similar techniques Dr. E. F. Young remarks:

It may be desirable to use two bases simultaneously in plotting data. That is, the student may wish to plot the data upon a base which shows both land usage and land value, or land usage and population density. A map with a double base may be constructed in case the material used for one of the bases is of such a character that it can be measured by some common unit and therefore is capable of linear representation in graphing as in the case of land values. Two methods of construction suggest themselves:

(a) A relief, or three dimensional map, such as the geologists use, can be made. For example, land usage and land value can be shown. In this case land usage is shown as we indicated above; land values are shown by varying elevations of the surface of the map. This method, though very effective, is obviously tedious and expensive.

(b) The second base can be "projected" upon the surface of the first base by the use of contour lines which pass through all points of equal "elevation," that is, through points having equal value or equal density as the case may be. Weather maps have made us familiar with this device. The practice of the engineer in showing land elevation on topographic maps could be followed with necessary modifications.⁵

Map IV is a form of social base map especially devised to show frontage and story conditions. It needs to be accompanied by a land usage map. It was developed by E. F. Bamford,⁶ and reproduces a small section of a frontage-story map, covering several blocks, of the Japanese business district of Los Angeles. As a foreign community is not likely to have any skyscrapers the frontage-story map is feasible and helpful in giving a picture of what business activities are going on.

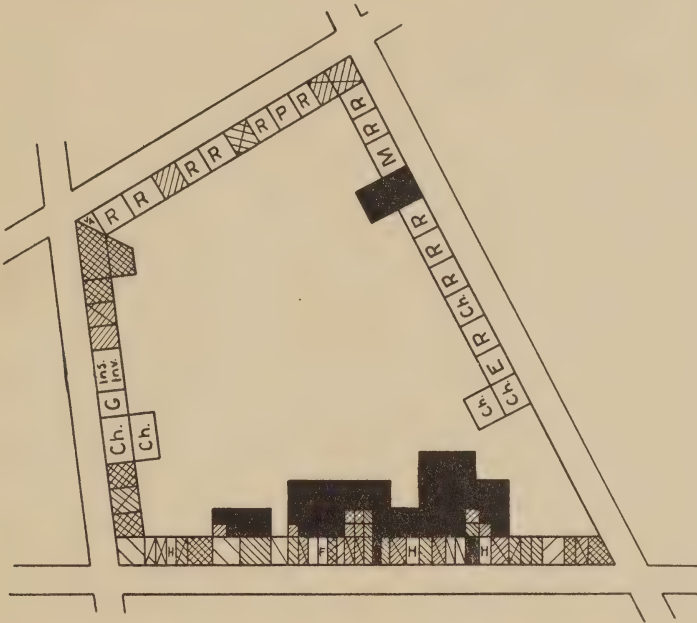
Sociology departments generally have followed a common procedure of preparing a whole series of maps of selected communities

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

⁶ As a graduate student, University of Southern California.

FRONTAGE~STORE MAP

City Block, Japanese Business District, Los Angeles, 1935



	Hotel		Hardware
	Restaurant		Garage
	Confectionery		Plumbing
	Clothing		Massages and Baths
	Physician		Express
	Grocery		Cigars and Cigarettes
	Barber		Fish and Meat
	Dentist		Church
	Photographer		Residence
	Drugs		Investments
	Furniture		Insurance
	Jewelry		Vacant Lot
	Book and Stationary		Non-Japanese

MAP IV

in which they are interested, imposing upon a social base map of a particular area data in the form of spots and symbols, showing for example:

1. Distribution of churches, showing overchurching, underchurching, and good and poor location of churches.
2. Distribution of hotels, lodging, and rooming houses, showing the transient areas of a city.
3. Distribution of races in a city, showing racial activity centers and regions of possible racial strife.
4. Distribution of families receiving relief, showing the handicapped areas of a city.
5. Distribution of amusements and of recreational faculties, showing leisure time needs and activities of people.⁷

The advantages of and values in social base maps are many. They enable one to visualize problems that otherwise might remain obscure. A series of them that are made at intervals over a period of time regarding a given social problem often reveal interesting trends and tendencies. Students who engage in making spot maps on base maps find the exercise a fascinating approach to sociology. The correlating of one spot map with others for the same area is an exercise that stimulates research students to undertake new pieces of research.⁸

A technical problem of great importance is the determination of the various geographic centers of distribution of data. In the following paragraphs, Dr. E. F. Young has specifically prepared a brief statement for this chapter concerning the location of the modal, the median, and the mean centers of an ecological distribution.

"The *modal center* of an ecological distribution can frequently be determined with approximate accuracy by inspection as the point of highest concentration. If necessary, a "grid" of convenient size, of mile or half mile squares, can be superimposed upon the distribu-

⁷ For a more extended list of uses of base maps see E. E. Eubank, "The Base Map as a Device for Community Study," *Social Forces*, VI:602-605.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*

tion and a count of the spots within each square made. The center of the square having the largest number of spots can then be taken as the modal center of the entire distribution.

"Obviously, some distributions will have several modes or, on the other hand, no clearly defined mode. Increasing the size of the unit square may in some cases reveal a modal center, but this method results in a less accurate determination of the precise center of the distribution.

"The *median center* of a distribution can be determined by drawing a horizontal line across the distribution, such that one-half of the spots will be above and one-half below the line. A second line is then drawn at right-angles to this line so that one-half the spots are to the right and one-half are to the left. The intersection of these two lines is the median center of the entire distribution. The median center takes account of the direction of every spot from it, whereas the modal center merely indicates the region within which there is the highest concentration of spots per unit area.

"The determination of the median center can be most rapidly made by counting the spots in each row of grid-squares and entering these values at the side of the map opposite the row. A similar count of the columns is then made and the values entered at the bottom or top of the map opposite the columns. This gives two ordinary frequency distributions whose median points can then be determined by the usual statistical methods using the geographic distances as the scale values.

"The median center is probably the most useful center for the majority of distributions. However, while it takes account of the direction of every spot from the center it takes no account of the distance. When this is thought necessary the *mean center* can be determined by computing the means of the frequency distributions, obtained as described above for the median center, again using the geographic distances as scale values.

"The mean center is the center of gravity of the entire field of spots. That is, if each spot had the same weight the plane would

balance at the mean center. In the census studies this is known as the *center of population*. Unless populations are badly skewed it will lie relatively close to the median center.

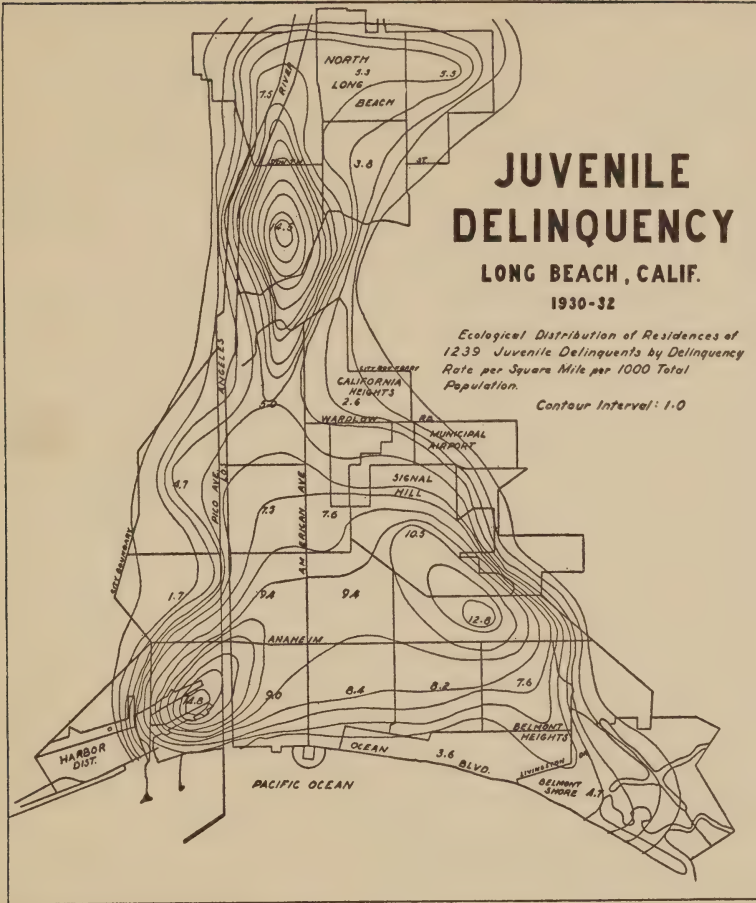
"A major difficulty arises in the use of both median and mean centers when multi-modal distributions are analyzed. In such cases some method of differentiating the two or more distributions is needed in case they osculate or overlap. As yet no simple reliable method can be offered for determining the peripheries of such distributions.

"In all cases it is important to exercise caution in interpreting the results obtained in the application of these methods. In the case of both median and mean centers, as in ordinary statistical practice, there may actually be no spots at, or even near, the centers as mathematically determined. They are ecological abstractions and must be treated as such."

In examining the problem of how "the concentration changes as one leaves the center in any direction," Dr. D. Welty Lefever⁹ has suggested a method of approach, which he has called "percentile polygons." First, an overlay of tracing paper is placed upon the total concentration of units. Starting from the median center of the system "concentric circles of equal radial difference" are drawn. Second, upon the overlay of tracing paper with its concentric circles, a sector of an angle is cut from heavy paper with an opening of 45° or 60°. "The sector is placed with its lower edge coinciding," for example, with "the east-line to the right of the median center." Third, "a count is made of the numbers of unit locations in the section of each ring exposed by the sector beginning with the one nearest the center." By rotating the section 10° each time 36 sets of frequency distributions will be obtained. "Any desired percentile values may be calculated" for each frequency distribution. These percentile values will be determined "in terms of the radial difference of the overlay and must be plotted as such."

"An important rule in plotting the percentile points is that each

⁹ Of the University of Southern California, in an unpublished manuscript.



MAP V

A CONTOUR RATE MAP

*Drawn from data secured by Longmoor and Young and reprinted from the *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1936, with special permission of the University of Chicago Press.

point must be placed on the line bisecting the sector angle for which its count was made. The line joining the successive percentile points (the same percentage but different directions) will form a polygon enclosing very nearly the desired percentage of unit locations."¹⁰

An unevenness or inequality in "a series of concentric percentile polygons" will indicate the presence of "secondary areas." "Such an area will be at some distance from the main center and will distort the outer percentile polygons by its presence."

To determine the presence of a secondary area, Dr. Lefever suggests the use of the revolving sector. "An overlay of tracing paper is constructed with concentric circles whose radii are so proportioned as to yield a series of concentric circles whose areas are all equal to that of the central circle." Then the sector is rotated and the number of items "in each ring segment is counted. These numbers represent the concentration of unit locations as one moves away from the center of population in any radial direction."

"If the sector is larger (for example, a ratio of 3:1) than the angle through which it is rotated at each count, the effect will be that of a moving average. In addition, a moving average of 3 to 5 should be run circularly through each ring. The numbers resulting from this calculation should be averaged radially, that is, a moving average should be run through the ring segments lying on the same radius. The effect of the moving average is to minimize any purely local variation by averaging it with the adjoining values.

"Contour lines may now be drawn through the areas of approximately equal concentration. . . . The boundary line between any two systems will be the contour line representing the 'valley' of lowest concentration between them."¹¹

The spot map has led to the development of significant treatments of ecological data through the use of median centers, median contour lines, rate maps, contour maps, and contour rate maps.¹²

¹⁰ From unpublished manuscript by Dr. D. Welty Lefever.

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*

¹² See Elsa Schneider Longmoor and Erle Fiske Young, "Ecological Inter-relationships of Juvenile Delinquency, Dependency, and Population Mobility," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLI:398-610 (March, 1936).

A median center is obtained by drawing a horizontal line so that one-half of the spots fall above it and one-half below. In like manner a perpendicular line is drawn with one-half of the spots on the right and one-half on the left. The intersection of these two lines is the median center.

In the next place, a median contour line may be obtained. A thirty degree segment is placed with its vertex at the median center. The total number of spots lying within the angle are then counted. A point is next located on the bisector of the segment so that when an arc is drawn through this point, one-half of the spots will be within the arc and one-half outside. The segment is then rotated ten degrees (giving an overlap of twenty degrees) and the operation is repeated locating a second median point. In this way thirty-six median points are located. A smoothed curve is then drawn through or near the median points, which constitutes the median contour line. Quartile contour lines and decile contour lines may be constructed by a similar procedure. This method treats the area as unitary in character.¹³

Likewise the *rate map* is an important device for analyzing social data. Longmoor and Young have pioneered in this direction. Population figures for areas one-half mile square are first secured. Then the number of cases of any social phenomenon that may be plotted on a map, such as juvenile delinquency, to each thousand of the population is determined for each particular area, and the rates are placed in each square.

Further light is thrown on the distribution of cases by the use of the *contour map*. After the number of cases per area is placed in the center of each square, points of equal value are then obtained "by means of an interpolated curved line," following a method similar to that used by engineers in making topographic maps. This method makes no assumptions as to the unitary character of the area, and may reveal multi-modality, that is, several modes or points of concentration. After the desired contour interval is selected then curved

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 603.

lines are drawn by free hand connecting the points of the same value as found on the lines of the centers of the areas.¹⁴

Map V is a *contour rate map*.¹⁵ It is made in the same way that a contour map is prepared except that rates or ratios are used instead of raw data. The results constitute not only a graphic presentation of statistical data but in themselves may suggest ecological and other types of hypotheses that would not be so quickly evident in considering statistical tables.

A great deal may be expected from the application of higher mathematics to ecological map-making. A greater degree of accuracy and objectivity in interpreting ecological data will make the ecological approach of increased research value.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 606.

¹⁵ Used here through the joint permission of Longmoor and Young and of the University of Chicago Press. See *American Journal of Sociology*, XLI:607.

CHAPTER IV

STATISTICAL TOOLS

The statistical approach in research is so well developed and so well known that it need not be developed in full here.¹ A discussion of the standard phases of social statistics, however, will be introduced in this chapter.

Statistical methods are "the principles of logic stated in mathematical terms." Statistics is applied mathematics, and social statistics is mathematics applied to social data. The science of counting and making mathematical estimates can be applied directly to data that are objective or that have been made objective, that is, to data that can be seen, measured, or otherwise observed in uniform ways by trained persons.

In making a statistical approach to a social problem it is first of all necessary to gather materials in a way that lend themselves to statistical treatment. Certain standard and formal devices have been developed to this end. One of these is the schedule and another is the questionnaire.

The *schedule* represents a formal method for securing certain facts that are in objective form and easily discernible. It has all the advantages and disadvantages of standardization. Usually it contains a list of terms which represent questions to which the student wishes to secure answers. Ordinarily these terms are arranged upon a lightweight cardboard of convenient size for carrying in a notebook, with spaces provided in which answers can be written. A card that is five and one-half by eight and one-half inches (one-half the size of letter size paper) is often used; sometimes a card seven by nine inches is adopted. A size that fits the amount of data to be gathered and that is convenient to handle is best.

¹ The reader is referred to any of the standard volumes on social statistics which are now available.

As a rule the schedule is not produced during an interview, for such a procedure will create prejudice and mental resistance. As far as possible the aim of the schedule is to secure data than can be treated with statistical precision. Tabular results are a commonly sought product.

The *questionnaire* is a useful tool in obtaining information in large quantities and from a distance. It differs from the schedule in that it is filled out by the person who is being questioned; the schedule is filled out by the investigator himself. Hence the questionnaire is simpler and more fully worded. It is important to phrase each question on the questionnaire so carefully that only one meaning is possible and that people of different backgrounds will not misinterpret it.

As a rule the questions should be few in number. Otherwise the person who receives a questionnaire will postpone answering it until he has more time and hence neglect entirely to fill it out. Whatever can be done to make the task of the questionee as easy as possible will not be neglected.

Usually the questions are framed so as to call forth either an affirmative or a negative answer, or else a series of items are listed and the one who answers is asked to check all the items that apply to his situation. The main idea is to secure answers that can be tabulated and treated statistically.

In Questionnaire I a list of items has been worked out so that the subject may check the items that pertain to his experiences. It is important of course that each list be made as complete as possible before it is submitted to subjects. The strength of this questionnaire lies in the ease with which the results can be tabulated and in the assurance that a fairly complete set of items in connection with a number of the questions has been considered in the inquiry. The weakness is that the data behind the check marks and the meanings of the check marks in terms of the relevant experiences of the subjects remain uncovered.

QUESTIONNAIRE I

INTERACTIONS OF TEACHERS AND STUDENTS²

1. Do you prefer men or women teachers?.....
2. Check reasons for your preference.
 1. Not so particular about trivial matters
 2. Takes greater interest in student problems
 3. More sympathetic
 4. More patient
 5. Keeps better class order
 6. Not as partial
 7. Has better poise
 8. More pleasing voice
 9. More convincing
 10. Neater in appearance
 11.
 12.
3. Check the traits exhibited by the teachers which you like best.
(Add others, if you wish)
 1. Pleasant
 2. Tactful
 3. Poise
 4. Calm
 5. Enthusiastic
 6. Self-confident
 7. Pleasing voice
 8. Neat appearance
 9. Dresses in clothes that are pleasing
 10. Good health
 11. Sympathetic
 12. Makes you earn your grade
 13. Makes lessons (lectures) interesting
 14. Makes subject clear
 15. Becomes acquainted with students
 16. Takes an interest in school clubs, etc.
 17. Takes an interest in community affairs other than school
 18. Knows subject well
 19. Good sport
 20. Keeps order
 21. Does not have favorites
 22. Can laugh with the class
 23. Serious
 24. Patient
 25.
 26.
4. Check the characteristics of teachers that you have not liked or do not like.
 1. Cranky
 2. Nervous
 3. Haughty
 4. Fiery temper
 5. Interferes with personal affairs of students
 6. Not interested in student problems
 7. Shows favoritism
 8. Unfair grader
 9. Unpleasant voice
 10. Careless in appearance
 11. Physical defect
 12. Too strict about trivial matters
 13. Does not know subject well
 14. Cannot put subject across
 15.
 16.

² Prepared by a college senior, University of Southern California

5. Have you ever come to dislike a subject because of the teacher?
6. What subject.....In what grade or school year?..... Give reason.....
7. Your sex..... 8. Your class numerals.....

QUESTIONNAIRE II

OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD CHRISTMAS¹

1. Do you approve of teaching children to believe in a material Santa?
2. Do you think we should drop "Santa Claus" from our traditional Christmas?.....
3. Do you think we should abolish the custom of gift giving to adults?, to children?..... to both?.....
4. Do you think gift giving has become commercialized?.....
5. Do you do your Christmas shopping in the crowded business section?
6. Do you enjoy mingling with the bustling crowds?.....
7. Do you have a friendly feeling of fellowship with the people against whom you are jostled?.....
8. Do you shop early to avoid the crowds?.....
9. Do you believe that the real significance of Christmas has become obscured?.....
10. If your last answer is yes, number in the order of their importance the following possible causes for this change:

a) High-pressure salesmanship	h) Need for a more scientific presentation of Christianity
b) Commercial advertising	
c) Department store advertising	i) Commercial entertainment such as movies, floor shows, etc.
d) Credit system	
e) "Keeping up with the Jones' "	j) Failure of parents to teach children the significance of Christmas
f) Failing influence of the church	
g) Lack of religious education	
	k) Increased use of intoxicants
11. Do you think this new era of science and machinery is dulling our spiritual life?.....
12. Do you give Christmas presents?.....
13. Can you afford to give Christmas presents?.....
14. Do you go into debt in order to give Christmas presents?.....
15. Do you build up a special fund throughout the year for use at Xmas time?.....
16. Do you give some gifts "just to make an impression?".....
17. Do you give some gifts because you feel duty bound to give them?

¹ Submitted by J. M. Petzold, student, University of Southern California.

18. Do you "exchange" gifts with people for whom you no longer hold a friendly feeling but whom you cannot openly offend?.....
 19. Do you give useful presents?..... frivolous presents?.....
 20. Do you give a Xmas donation to some charitable organization?.....
 21. Do you help one or more needy families that you know of?.....
 22. Underline your motive or motives for such giving:
 - a) General spirit of Christmas giving
 - b) To compensate you for failure to give to the needy during the year
 - c) A person or agency approached you personally and you couldn't refuse
 - d) A fear of being criticized made you give
 - e) The newspaper drives stimulated you to give
 - f) Radio campaigns stimulated you to give
 - g) You gain a spiritual benefit from Christmas giving
 23. Do you think that too much stress is put upon the material needs of the poor at Christmas time?.....
 24. Do you think agencies should take advantage of the giving spirit of Xmas but should use the funds for essentials and not all at once?
 25. Would you support a nation-wide movement which carried the slogan, "Entertain a needy family in your home on Christmas day."?.....
 26. Do you know the origin of the custom of decorating a fir tree for Xmas?.....
 27. Do you have a Xmas tree?..... Do you think it is a wasteful destruction of the beauties of nature?.....
 28. Do you think that artificial trees could be substituted for real?.....
 29. How many Xmas cards did you send this year?..... Receive this year?.....
 30. Do you think the growing custom of sending cards is a burden?
 31. Do you think they should be sent only to friends and relations from whom we seldom hear?.....
 32. Do you think the extra mail creates jobs?..... overworks mailmen?.....
 33. What did this Christmas mean to you? (Please underline)

a) Happiness	h) A time of compulsory money spending
b) Sorrow	i) An opportunity to do a good deed
c) Indifference	j) A time of family reunion
d) Nervous exhaustion	k) An annual gathering of old friends
e) A time of renewal of religious faith	l)
f) A time for gift giving	
g) Time of gift receiving	
- Age..... Sex..... Married?..... Single?..... Nationality.....
 Religion: Catholic..... Protestant..... Denomination.....

Questionnaire II contains a much larger number of questions than does Questionnaire I, which is both a strong and a weak point. It is likely to bring out considerable data concerning the total reaction of the subject to the topic under study. On the other hand, lengthy questionnaires are more likely to remain unanswered or to be answered with less care than are short ones.

The questions must not be too personal, subjective, or inquisitive. They must not arouse inhibitions, for one of the aims of the questionnaire method is to secure a large percentage of replies. Often it is well not to ask for a signature and not to make rules that require any marks of identification. It is well to enclose a stamped self-addressed envelope with each questionnaire that is sent out.

If only 40 per cent of a group of questionnaires are returned, the results are not representative. If 70 per cent are returned, the representation is much better, but even in this case the 30 per cent may hold the balance of numbers and change a minority of the 70 per cent into a majority of the total vote. It is often those who do not return questionnaires who are the most significant persons to be considered. Dr. Katherine B. Davis employed the method of writing to the persons whom she wished to fill out her questionnaires and having received an affirmative answer was certain to have almost 100 per cent of the questionnaires filled out and returned. However, those who did not agree to fill out the questionnaires may have represented very significant persons or may have been persons with very significant experiences.⁴

After the important objective data regarding a given problem have been gathered and after the subjective data regarding the same problem have been made objective and assembled according to standard forms, the next step is statistical analysis. Statistical tools enable the research student to obtain means, medians, modes, frequencies, deviations, correlations, probable errors, and so on throughout a long list of mathematical terms. Space permits only a brief

⁴ Cited by C. Luther Fry, *The Technique of Social Investigation* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934), p. 96.

discussion of the simpler of these terms here. The student will consult one of the latest works on statistics for detailed information.⁵

One of the most common statistical terms is the average. There are many kinds of averages, such as: arithmetic mean, mode, median, weighted mean, geometric mean, harmonic mean. The first four of these terms are in common statistical use and will be considered briefly.

The *arithmetic mean* is the same as the term average that is used in ordinary conversation. After all the items of a series have been found, then by the arithmetic process of adding the items and dividing the result by the number of items the mean may be located. In Table I the heights of a group of men are tabulated by inches⁶ and the mean obtained, which in this instance is 65.541 inches. For the sake of greater exactness it would be well in Table I to give the height in inches to three decimal points. The formula for the arithmetic mean is: sum of the items (Σ) times the number of individual items (n) divided by the total number of items (t). $A.M. = \frac{\Sigma n}{t}$

TABLE I
THE MEAN HEIGHT

<i>Inches</i>	<i>Nos.</i>	<i>Totals</i>
56	2	112
58	2	116
63	4	252
64	10	640
65	15	975
66	20	1320
67	21	1407
68	10	680
69	1	69
—	—	—
Totals	85	5571

Average Height (arithmetical mean), 65.541 inches.

The arithmetic mean in this case is a figure containing a decimal fraction, but probably no one of the 85 men is exactly this high, and

⁵ For example, a recent standard volume is that by R. Clyde White, entitled *Social Statistics* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933).

⁶ The class interval is 63.5 to 64.499, etc.

hence the mean falls, as is not uncommon, in a vacuum. The arithmetic mean, however, has the merit of being easy to find, of giving equal weight to all the items (which of course may give rise to gross errors), and affords a general idea of the objective nature of a type of items.

The *weighted mean* may be considered next. Very frequently it is found that each group of items in a given type of items has a particular value and hence is not to be viewed in terms of a simple average or arithmetic mean without discrimination. It may be possible to give specific and different values to each of the differing items, and then to proceed arithmetically.

Suppose that in working out final grades for students, the instructor uses five sets of marks for each student, namely, for class recitations, for class attendance, for semester papers, for written quizzes, and for the final examination, with a grade of 100 being considered as perfect in each of the five activities. Suppose that the arithmetic means of the grades of the members of the class for each of the five activities run as given in Table II.

TABLE II
THE ARITHMETIC MEAN

<i>Items</i>	<i>Grades</i>
Recitations	80
Attendance	90
Papers	95
Quizzes	75
Examination	70
<hr/>	
Total	410
Arithmetic Mean	82

Suppose, however, that the instructor decides that class recitation grades are four times as important as either the attendance or the semester papers, and that the semester papers and the final examinations are twice as important as the attendance and the written quizzes. It may then be said that the different groups of items are "weighted" differently. In Table III the weighted mean is obtained by dividing the "total points" by the number of "weights" and the

resultant weighted mean grade is 80.0 instead of 82.0 or the arithmetic mean.

TABLE III

THE WEIGHTED MEAN

<i>Items</i>	<i>Grades</i>	<i>Weights</i>	<i>Total Points</i>
Recitations	80	4	320
Attendance	85	1	85
Papers	90	2	180
Quizzes	75	1	75
Examination	70	2	140
Totals		10	800
Weighted Mean			80

By this process the more important groups of items are given a significance not attained by the arithmetic mean; the groups of lesser importance are weighted less. It is presumable that the weighted mean is more accurate and fairer than an unweighted one.

The *mode* is the fashion or the prevailing item or items. By a glance at Table I it will be seen that the modal or prevailing height is 67 inches, there being more men of that height than of any other. The modal height, thus, is nearly an inch greater than the arithmetic mean. The mode is not affected by extreme variations; it ignores them. It is often the most representative or typical symbol.

The mode is found by the use of the formula, $\text{mode} = L + \frac{f_2}{f_1 + f_2} I$. L refers to the lower limit of the class-interval having the largest number of frequencies; f_1 is the number of items in the class immediately preceding the modal group; f_2 is the number of items in the class immediately following the modal class; and I is the class interval.⁷

The term, *median*, speaks for itself, suggesting the middle item in an entire range of items. It is not the middle group or the mean of all the items, but the middle item itself. If the 85 men listed in Table I were lined up in order from the shortest to the tallest, then the 43rd man either from the foot or from the head of the column

⁷ See R. Clyde White, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

would be the median man; he would be among those listed as 66 inches tall.

The median height of 66 inches is however an *assumed median* and not a true median. The item "66 inches" includes a group of men ranging from 65.5 inches to 66.499 inches tall, and the true median is a man who has a particular height somewhere in this group. The whole group of 66-inch-tall men represents only an approximate or assumed median.

Since it deals with the individual items the median, that is, the true median, is more particularistic than any of the related terms, such as average, mean, or mode. It is not affected at all by extremes, which therefore do not even need to be measured.

Range refers either to the general range of (1) the individual items or (2) of the group of items. (1) In Table I the range of individual heights is from 56 to 69 inches, or 13 inches. (2) Judged by groups of items in this case the range is essentially the same, although it might be considered as ranging from 63 to 68 inches or only 5 inches. If in Table I there were one very short person of 50 inches and one very tall one of 86 inches, then the range of individual items would be 36 inches or 3 feet, while the range by groups of four or more items would remain as before, at only 5 inches.

Frequency refers to the number of items in each of a series of class intervals. Table I is an illustration of the simplest form of frequency table. By indicating the number of persons of each height by inches, it gives a definite idea as to the frequency of the items for each height gradation. Chart VI (p. 197) gives a literal frequency chart when a curving line is drawn joining the tops of the frequency lines; the result is a frequency curve. The normal frequency curve is a bell-shaped affair which in Chart VI⁸ is considerably distorted. The normal frequency curve is a symmetrical affair with the mode as the center.

⁸ Another name for the normal frequency curve is the biological curve, for in considering a large number of biological items in a given field the result is a gradual increase in the numbers of items in each group up to a certain level and then a similar decrease in numbers of items.

By *skewness* is meant the degree to which the items approaching the mode outmeasure or undermeasure those beyond the mode, thus throwing the frequency curve out of symmetry. This curve may be skewed either to the left or to the right.

If the median and the arithmetic mean are both on the same side of the mode, the skewness will be on that side of the mode. In Graph I the frequency curve is definitely skewed to the left, even if the small modal curve at the extreme left of the graph be disregarded. The usual measure of skewness is called the coefficient of skewness, which is found by subtracting the mode from the arithmetic mean and dividing the result by the average deviation from the mode. C. of S. = $\frac{AM - MO}{AD \text{ fr } Mo}$

Discrete series and *continuous series* are vital concepts. In counting money there are breaks between each of the items, as in the case of dollars. These distinct breaks mean that the series is *discrete* or broken. The wages of factory employees, the number of births in any year, the number of people in a city represent a discrete series.

On the other hand, the actual heights of a number of persons cannot be measured with absolute exactness, but are given in terms of some measurement units, such as inches or millimeters. In reality they are a *continuous series* with no breaks between items; when put into measurement units they fall into a discrete series. The same situation is found in considering the weights of persons or objects.

Measures of *dispersion* are numerous and methods of determining them are complicated. Dispersion is distribution; it is variation from the arithmetic mean, the median, or the mode. A measure of dispersion shows at a glance how widely a group of items are distributed. The most common measures are the average deviation, sometimes called the mean variation, and the standard deviation.

The *average deviation* is found by, first, subtracting the deviation of each single item from the arithmetic mean (or from the median, or from the mode); second, by adding these deviations together; and then by dividing this sum by the total number of cases. The

appropriate formula is $AD = \frac{\sum d}{n}$; d is the amount of the deviation of each item from the average used; \sum is the sum of all these deviations; and n is the total number of items.

Since the average deviation is not useful for comparative purposes it sometimes is helpful to find the coefficient of average deviation. This is done by dividing the average deviation by the arithmetic mean, or by the median, or by the mode. The formula is: C of AD

$$= \frac{AD}{AM}.$$

The *standard deviation* is a modification of the average deviation. It is obtained by finding all the deviations from the arithmetic average or mean, from the median, or from the mode; by squaring these; by finding the average of the total; and finally by extracting the square root of the average. The formula for finding the standard deviation: $SD = \sqrt{\frac{\sum d^2}{n}}$. In other words each deviation is squared, the squares are added together, the sum is divided by the total number of items, and the square root is taken of the result.

The standard deviation is the square root of the sum of the squares of the deviations whereas the average deviation uses the actual deviations. By using the squares of the deviations, greater weight is given to extreme deviations. Hence, the standard deviation varies from the average deviation when there is an unusual number of extreme variations.

Inasmuch as the standard deviation is useless for comparative purposes, the coefficient of standard deviation may be utilized. It is determined in the same way as is the coefficient of average deviation, namely, by dividing the standard deviation by the arithmetic mean. The formula is C of $SD = \frac{SD}{AM}$

Then there are *quartiles* or those items of a total series which represent dispersion from the median. The first quartile is the item which is one-fourth the way along a scale of items. The second quartile is one-half the way along, and is the same as the median. The third quartile is three-fourths the way along the total scale. The

formulae for finding the first and third quartiles are: $Q_1 = \frac{n+1}{4}$ and $Q_3 = \frac{3(n+1)}{4}$

Quartile deviation refers to the deviation of the first and third quartiles from the median. As soon as the values or the sizes of the two items are known, then the formula for average deviation is applied. The sum of the deviations of the two items from the median naturally is the difference between the two. This sum is divided by the two, which gives the quartile deviation.

The *coefficient of quartile deviation* is found in the usual way of determining similar coefficients. The quartile deviation is divided by one-half of the sum of the two items, or by the median.

Correlation is a statistical comparison of two groups of comparable data. It sometimes implies some kind of causal relationship. For example, the changes in the price of wheat and in the price of bread over a period of years may show some correlation.

If the changes are in the same direction, up together or down together, there is a direct or *positive correlation*. If the changes are in opposite directions, as in the case of an increase in the wheat yield that is accompanied by a decrease in the price of bread, then an inverse or *negative correlation* exists.

We may want to know what the degree of correlation is between two variables and hence one of the variables may be considered as a *standard variable* by which to measure the other, which is called a *relative variable*. If the correlation is perfect, that is, if the changes in standard and relative variables move exactly together, the *coefficient of correlation* is 1. If there is no correlation at all the coefficient is 0. If the relative variables move step by step exactly in the opposite direction from the movement of the standard variable the coefficient is -1 . It is usually true that the coefficient must be as high as $+.70$ or $-.70$, or higher, to signify real positive or causal relationship.⁹

⁹ A high correlation or even a perfect correlation of $+1$. or -1 . is not to be viewed as proof of causal relationship. For example, the ludicrous case may be mentioned of a high correlation between the decrease in wages in the United States from 1929 to 1933 with the decrease in native population in the Hawaiian Islands in the

To determine the coefficient of correlation, it is necessary to use a mathematical formula, such as Karl Pearson's coefficient of correlation. Pearson's well-known formula is C of $C = \frac{(d_1 \times d_2)}{n \times SD_1 \times SD_2}$. Σ equals "the sum of"; d_1 and d_2 are the deviations from the two means respectively; n is the number of pairs of items; SD_1 and SD_2 are the standard deviations of the two series. According to this formula, "the sum of the products of the deviations of the paired items from the average used" is divided by the product of the number of pairs of items multiplied by the standard deviation of the first series, multiplied by the second set of standard deviations.

The *probable error* indicates what allowances must be made for deviation when a sample instead of all the data is used. If every item in a given situation were included in the statistical computations there would be no "probable error." The latter term enters into the picture whenever a study deals with less than the total number of items involved. Hence, "probable error" is a statistical device that accompanies the use of sampling. It indicates how far the samples are representative of the total number of items. The probable error eliminates the necessity of measuring every item, which of course is virtually impossible where the total number of items mount up into hundreds of thousands or perhaps millions.

Succinctly stated the probable error is essentially two-thirds of the standard deviation. The formula when the arithmetic mean is used is $P. E. = .6745 \frac{SD}{\sqrt{n}}$. The result, for example, will be written as follows: $12.2 \pm .72$; and means that the average of 12.2 of a sample of items is within .72 of the actual average of all the items from which the sample is taken. The actual average for the entire group of items is within .72 more and .72 less than 12.2, or between 12.92 and 11.48.

In the case of coefficient of correlation, the probable error has

early years of the Nineteenth century. In other instances the lack of causal connections may not be at all obvious, but nevertheless actual. Hence, a person is likely to fall into a trap laid by wishful thinking if he assumes too much even when there is a high correlation between two series of changes in a given field of study.

special significance. If it is larger than the coefficient of correlation, the reliability of the coefficient is nil. If it is less than one-sixth of the coefficient of correlation, the reliability of the coefficient is assured.

Index numbers are tools for obtaining a series of comparative values easily and quickly. For example, the price figures for a given commodity for a given year, may be taken as a base, usually at 100. With this base the price figures for this commodity for succeeding years may be compared. If the average price of oats per bushel in the United States in 1912 was \$.4380; in 1913, \$.3758; in 1914, \$.4191, then in terms of the price for 1912 we find that for 1913 the index number was 85.8, and for 1914, 95.7. Thus an index number gives at a glance a clear idea of relative values. Index numbers are usually developed and used in connection with prices, costs of living, and so on.

Scales have been developed in endless variety. One of the simplest types of scales is an ordinary yard stick. A scale is something against which to measure something else. A hundred per cent scale for measuring the efficiency of pupils in solving a group of problems in arithmetic is a more complex form. Such a scale, however, is inadequate, if the problems are not all of equal difficulty, or if the pupils' degrees of training and intelligence vary widely. Moreover, in itself, it does not take into consideration the time element used in solving the problems.

A scale for measuring quality is unusually difficult to construct. For example, it is by no means easy to make a scale for measuring the quality of housing conditions, or of social attitudes. A good example of an important scale of this type is the one developed by W. W. Clark for grading juvenile offences.¹⁰ The arithmetic mean was found for the values assigned each of a large number of common offences, using trained social workers and social science scholars as judges. In this way a scale was made of juvenile offences in terms of

¹⁰ Whittier Scale for Grading Juvenile Offences," California Bureau of Juvenile Research, Bulletin No. 11, Whittier, California.

their increasing degree of seriousness. On this basis the offences of a given boy may be located on the standard score sheet or scale of offences. "The sum of the offence scores may be taken as a numerical evaluatory of the total degree of delinquency, or the delinquency index, of a given boy."¹¹ Since many scales have been developed in connection with the measurement of opinions and attitudes, further and extended consideration will be given to them in the Chapter on that theme.¹²

In analyzing the different methods for measuring opinions and attitudes, Kirkpatrick and Stone divide rating scales into the "adjective scale" and the "numerical scale."¹³ The former requires that the subject indicate his reaction by one of a series of descriptive terms; the second asks the subject to give his reaction in terms of a number ranging, for instance, from one to five. Kirkpatrick and Stone also divide scales into "unstandardized propositional scales" and "standardized propositional scales." In the first type the constructor of the scale arbitrarily formulates the propositions which are to be voted upon, while in the second, the propositions represent the consensus opinion of a number of persons. A refinement of the latter type is represented by the work of L. L. Thurstone and E. J. Chave¹⁴ who have developed the method of "equal-appearing" intervals.¹⁵

In the "behavior rating scale" prepared by Haggerty, Olson and Wickman¹⁶ a list of twenty-four questions is asked, such as, "Does he lack nerve, or is he courageous?" Beneath each question is a list of traits representing five different degrees of behavior relating to the specific question. Each type of behavior is given a number, with one representing the most desirable and five the least desirable. The five descriptions and the assigned numbers given in answer to the question: "Does he lack nerve or is he courageous?" are as follows:

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹² Chapter VII.

¹³ Clifford Kirkpatrick and Sarah Stone, "Attitude Measurement and the Comparison of Generations," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XIX:564-582 (October, 1935).

¹⁴ *The Measurement of Attitude* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929).

¹⁵ A significant criticism of the Thurstone method is made by Kirkpatrick and Stone, *op. cit.*, as an introduction to a description of their own "belief pattern scale."

¹⁶ Published by the World Book Company, Yonkers on Hudson, 1930.

"White-livered, fearful" (4), "gets 'cold feet'" (3), "will take reasonable chances" (1), "resolute" (2), "daredevil" (5).

Many scales have been developed for measuring personality traits.¹⁷ The problems are almost insuperable because of the complicated subjective factors which are present. A sample scale for measuring leadership traits is given herewith. A number of personality traits (in this instance, eight) are stated in terms of behavior. These statements have been examined and criticized by a number of persons who have had pertinent experiences, until no new significant suggestions were made. The total exhibit supposedly covers the particular field of personality traits fairly well. Each item is stated objectively, using the active voice and transitive form of verbs in all cases. The items were first typed on separate slips of paper and given to 100 persons to weight from 5 to 1, with five representing the greatest importance and one the least. The slips of paper were arranged so that each of the eight sets of items came first when given to one-eighth of the judges to be weighted. Thus, no one item had the advantage of coming first in every exercise of weighting. The arithmetic mean was taken of the 100 weightings of each behavior item and used as the average weight for each item. In arranging the scale for grading leaders of group discussions a numerical choice of five is given for each item. This number when multiplied by the weight gives a total rating item by item. The total ratings when added together give a grand total, which when divided by the highest possible score gives a Leadership Quotient (L.Q.) on a percentage basis. In connection with certain research topics the student may find it helpful to work out a scale of this kind for a given field of leadership.

A SCALE FOR RATING LEADERS OF GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Instructions: In the second column check the rating that you wish to give the leader under consideration (five represents the highest and one the lowest grade). Multiply weighted average in each case

¹⁷ One of the best is that by Bernreuter. See Robert G. Bernreuter, *The Personality Inventory* (Stanford University Press, 1931).

by the rating in order to obtain the totals. Add the totals and divide by the highest score possible which in this instance is 113.5.

CHART I

No.	Behavior Traits	Weighting (4-2)	Rating of "A" (5-1)	Total Scores
1.	Conducts discussion in a way which indicates that he possesses a basic knowledge of the main issues under discussion.	4.0	5 4 x 3 2 1	16.0
2.	Succeeds in getting a considerable percentage of the group to take part at least once in the discussion.	3.5	5 4 3 x 2 1	10.5
3.	Restates every question from the floor so that all can hear it and understand it and so that the one who answers it may have time to formulate his answer well.	3.0	5 4 x 3 2 1	12.0
4.	Limits talks from the floor to three to five minutes.	2.2	5 4 3 2 1 x	2.2
5.	Brings discussion quickly back to the main issue whenever it is sidetracked.	2.5	5 4 3 2 x 1	5.0
6.	Tactfully and with good humor keeps personalities and impassioned remarks out of the discussion.	2.5	5 4 x 3 2 1	10.0
7.	Keeps from disclosing his own opinions and biases.	2.0	5 4 3 x 2 1	6.0

No.	Behavior Traits	Weighting (4-2)	Rating of "A" (5-1)	Total Scores
8.	Sums up the main points of the discussion impartially at the end.	3.0	5 4 x 3 2 1	12.
Grand Total				73.7
Possible Score				113.5
Leadership Quotient (L.Q.) of "A"				64.9

A *test* is usually a series of problems selected in such a way that no one individual can solve them all in the allotted time and yet difficult enough so that every one can solve at least some of them in the time that is available. An ordinary set of examination questions is a well known type of test. Intelligence tests, extensively known, are more complicated. Also known are series of tests designed to evaluate intelligence factors, such as, observing, remembering, judging, performing, comparing. The Binet-Simon tests, which were the first of this type, have been elaborated until now there are twenty-five or more modified types of intelligence tests. A trained person is needed to take charge of administering tests, of working out scores, of treating the results in terms of correlation, probable error, and so forth.¹⁸

The elementary statistical devices discussed in this chapter will go a long ways in helping the research person to analyze his data. More elaborate statistical treatment of data will help still further. At every statistical step the investigator must be careful not to assume too much for his technique. Statisticians often talk as though no research findings can be valid unless they have been attained by use of statistical formulæ. However, statisticians have been most sensitive to the limitations of statistics. One of the recent summaries of these

¹⁸ Goodwin B. Watson has compiled a long list of tests and similar techniques of measurement. See his *Experimentation and Measurement in Religious Education* (New York: Association Press, 1930).

limitations has been made by William F. Ogburn.¹⁹ These limitations may be summed up as follows. (1) Statistics are not effective in discovering the new in social science. Its role is more likely to be that "of making more exact something that is already known." (2) Statistics cannot deal with the unique phenomena in social science. (3) It cannot touch the non-quantitative aspects of personal and social life. (4) It is inadequate in prediction because it does not allow for the rise of new variables. (5) The language of figures is very limited. (6) The explanations and interpretations that are given to statistical results may be easily colored by subjective considerations. (7) Statistics deals with knowledge rather than with understanding that knowledge. (8) Statistics deals with segments rather than with the composite whole of social facts.

¹⁹ "Limitations of Statistics," *American Journal of Sociology*, XL:12-20 (July, 1934).

An older but excellent statement of statistical pitfalls is found in Robert E. Chaddock's *Principles and Methods of Statistics* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925), Ch. II, "Misuses of Statistical Data."

CHAPTER V

OBSERVATION TECHNIQUES

Personal observation as a research technique involves objectivity of approach, keenness of notation, and an accurate recording system. Observation as commonly exercised is notoriously faulty. No two persons observe the same things in a particular social situation such as a fist fight or an automobile accident. Moreover, no two persons see the same things alike. Honest witnesses are well known for their contradictory descriptions of the same event. Hence controlled observation is necessary.

Controlled observation is important both subjectively and objectively. Subjectively it is essential that the observer free himself from biases and wishful thinking, and that he avoid the fallacy of seeing that which he wishes to see. Objectively, he needs to center his attention on certain particular phases of the social situation and not on others, or else his attention will be drawn hither and thither. If a social situation is complex, a controlled observer needs to be assigned to each of the important phases of it.

Observation as a research technique is based on the principle "that measurable interpretations can be made in terms of the behavior expressions but not in terms of the behavior mechanisms."¹ Observation assumes that by noting the behavior reactions over a period of time of a person, particularly if he be off his guard, if he is not "acting," if he is entirely natural, a great deal can be learned about his attitudes, and hence about his personality.

Non-participant observation aims to get away from the fallacies of the question-answer method. It points out that answers to questions are often rationalizations and introspections.² If you want to

¹ William I. Thomas and Dorothy Swain Thomas, *The Child in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928), p. 558.

² E. C. Lindeman, *Social Discovery* (New York: Republic Publishing Company, 1924), p. 182.

know what a person is doing, by all means, do not *ask* him, for if you do he will answer "in terms of you and not in terms of the objective thing he really is doing."³ If you want to know what he is doing, "watch him," or study his behavior over a period of time.

The non-participant observer is one who looks on but does not take part. His presence is made as inconspicuous as possible. He is like the experimenter in the laboratory, except that he usually is not able to control his experiments.

Excellent illustrations of non-participant observation are found in such studies as those reported by Dorothy Swain Thomas and her associates. They have used non-participant observation by which "the social, and to a certain extent, the emotional responses of the child may be objectively recorded and analyzed."⁴

In studying behavior problems, Dr. Thomas found that to apply statistical methods used in other fields is inadequate. To put ordinary data about behavior problems into "a pseudo-quantitative form" and to use refined statistical analysis does not produce the desired results. Case histories are unsatisfactory because of being admixtures of "facts and interpretation."

The non-participant observation method is an attempt not to control the experiment but the observer. The social situation that is studied is left as free as possible. Everything is kept natural and normal. The observer, however, is controlled.

In one of the Thomas studies, a group of nursery school children ranging from about eighteen to thirty-two months, and another from thirty-three to forty-eight months, were studied. Their regular school program was carried out as usual. The behavior of certain boys and girls was then observed and described in writing as it occurred.

The control of the observer was an important part of the problem. It is necessary to train the observer regarding what he is to

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 182, 183.

⁴ Dorothy Swain Thomas and Associates, *Some New Techniques for Studying Social Behavior* (New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929), p. vii.

observe. For example, the observer sometimes watched for "a given overt social-behavior act" and recorded it each time it occurred; in another part of the study "a specific social situation" was recorded each time it recurred.⁵ Only the observers who were the most carefully trained made the same observations regarding given behavior acts of particular children.

The observers were so located in the nursery school room that their presence was not a distracting factor, and they followed the overt behavior of given children for given time periods and recorded these as continuous accounts. In certain instances every movement of a child was charted in relation to physical contacts with other children. Again, "every situation in which laughter occurred was described, briefly, with the names of the children involved in the situation recorded, and an indication made as to which of these children responded by either a laugh or a smile."⁶ By noting the length of time that a child gave to a given activity it was possible to isolate a personality trait, such as persistence.⁷

The problem of having an observer present does not seem to be significant in the case of children in a nursery. Their attention is localized on what they are doing and on other children. The total picture of what is going on with an observer present is not a part of their world.

In the case of adults who are being observed the situation is different. The non-participant observer is likely to be conspicuous by his very non-participation. It appears that the advocates of non-participant observation have not taken this problem into full consideration. Of course the problem disappears in times of excitement, group crisis, and the like. Under such circumstances most people quickly lose any clear sense of what is taking place. Under normal circumstances, however, the non-participant observer of adult behavior must become a partial participant, perhaps, to the extent of ten or twenty per cent participation, or at least a formal participant.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

At this point non-participant observation passes over into *participant observation*. Of course if the adults who are being observed give their "active acceptance" of the presence of observers, then the question becomes less difficult to solve, although even here exhibitionistic tendencies may defeat scientific results.⁸

The problem of controlling the observed has recently received extensive attention by research workers at Yale University. The behavior to be observed has been divided into three categories with interesting results. The three centers of attention for the observer have been labeled: (1) materials, (2) self, and (3) person, depending on whether the person observed was manipulating materials, or engaged in self-activity, such as walking around, talking, or was in physical contact with other persons.⁹ "Each of these categories was narrowly and arbitrarily limited to certain specified acts" which were exclusive of the acts assigned to the other categories.¹⁰

A further guide to accuracy has been developed through observing these three types of behavior in terms of time units. In this way it has been possible to assist non-participant observers in developing skill.

The Yale group has gone still further in the attempt to develop controlled observers. They have used motion picture films projected at normal speed and at slow speed as a means of testing the skill of a number of observers. In one experiment, for example, each observer was shown six films nine times in order that he might record his observations three times regarding each of the three behavior categories of materials, self, and person, as engaged in by an actor on the screen.¹¹ As a result of these fifty-four records per observer it was possible to determine his accuracy in observing.

By such tests minute distortions in observation may be noted. Two types of distortions have been carefully analyzed: (1) omission of

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁹ Dorothy Swain Thomas, Alice M. Loomis, Ruth E. Arrington, with the assistance of Eleanor C. Isbell, *Observational Studies of Social Behavior* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University, Institute of Human Relations, 1933), p. 194.

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*

certain details, and (2) a preponderance of certain details over others, due to biases.¹² A well-trained non-participant observer will omit no details of the particular segment of behavior that he elects to report and at the same time he will present no details out of proportion to their actual appearance. Moreover, he develops skill in "identification, interpretation, timing, and recording."¹³ In other words he will be quick to identify or recognize the behavior expressions which he is expected to report; he will interpret these expressions correctly in terms of the object of observation, such as material, self, or person; he will keep his time reports correctly, and will record all his observations in their proper time units.

Another type of non-participant observation is illustrated by welfare institutions or wards in which adolescents or adults are placed "for observation." Sometimes it is a phase of a disease, changes in weight, changes in ability to sleep, and other organic or functional processes which are under observation, and sometimes behavior even of a social nature has likewise been carefully observed over a period of time.

An interesting phase of this type of observation is found in the studies of motion pictures, sponsored by the Payne Fund of New York. An electrical device was used to record the changes in posture of 170 children during 347 nights, minute by minute. A total of 3,591,000 minutes of sleep were "electrically observed," with a view first to obtain a normal sleep pattern and then to secure data concerning variations from the norms after the children had seen selected motion pictures. Here is observation carried out to a mechanically perfect degree in order to obtain data concerning the effects of seeing motion pictures upon human responsiveness.¹⁴

A related phase of observation is the actual use of slow motion pictures of social behavior. By studying these pictures, frame by frame, it is possible to study and compare facial gestures, attitudes,

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 217.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

¹⁴ S. Renshaw, V. L. Miller, and D. P. Marquis, *Children's Sleep* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933), Ch. IV,

and the more objective phases of human behavior. A purely non-participant record of the interactions of a group of children, for example, can be obtained in this way.¹⁵

Inasmuch as many experiments involving non-participant observation have meant that the subjects were aware of the presence of the non-participant observer and that the behavior of the subjects therefore were more or less affected by such a circumstance, the experiments conducted by Dura-Louise Cockrell in the Clinic of Child Development at Yale University take on special significance. Apparently they afford non-participant observation that is 100 per cent non-participant. The observer does not participate even by his presence. The secret is found in the "one-way vision screen" which functions "both as a sieve and a valve." It is "a mantle of invisibility," for it allows the observer to look through it, but does not allow the observer to be seen. Thus, the observer may observe without his presence being observed.¹⁶

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Participant observation is not simply observation by an insider in a given social situation. It is usually observation by an outsider who temporarily becomes an insider. Sometimes it is the observation by an insider who has been trained to view a social situation as an outsider would do it, that is, as objectively as possible. It has the advantage as a research technique of understanding the inner nature of social situations and yet at the same time of viewing them objectively and scientifically.

The theory behind participant observation is that one may understand social situations by "participating in the activities of the group being observed." Few persons can participate, however, and at the

¹⁵ Cf. Alice M. Loomis, "The Use of Stilled Motion Pictures in a Program of Observational Studies," Publication of the American Sociological Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, May, 1934), XXVIII:80.

¹⁶ Dura-Louise Cockrell, "A Study of the Play of Children of Preschool Age by an Unobserved Observer," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, Vol. XVII, No. 6 (December, 1935).

same time maintain objective standards of observation; participant observers need to be carefully trained.¹⁶

As originally developed by E. C. Lindeman the concept of participant observation was a dual affair, in which one person, vitally interested in a group's activities, provided an outside person with the facts and meanings that the latter needed to know; offered criticisms of the categories for classifying new facts, categories that the outside person or persons have developed; discovered new categories for classifying the given group's activities; and corrected conclusions that the outside observer makes.¹⁷ In other words the participant observer is to report what the group "thinks" it is doing; he will contribute data of a subjective and introspective character; and his observations will "be tintured with the prejudices of one who is a partisan member of the group."

Thus, participant observation is more intimate than the non-participant type. The latter might be compared to the man in the gallery who looks down upon a heated controversy on the main floor. It would be easy for him to misinterpret what the controversy is all about. The trained participant observer, however, can give the backgrounds, state the nature of the conflict, and more particularly the social forces that are at work, and thus provide the man in the gallery with information that he would not be able to "observe."

The functions of the participant observer according to Lindeman, are: (1) To become "a part of the group being studied," (2) to develop "vital interests involved in the group's activities," (3) to furnish an "outside observer with the facts of the group's activities," and "with facts bearing upon the categories utilized in the study," (4) to criticize the categories, (5) to discover "new categories as emergencies of the group's changing activities," and (6) to correct "conclusions of the outside observer from the viewpoint of one whose interests are at stake."¹⁸

¹⁶ E. C. Lindeman, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

¹⁸ *Loc. cit.*

The participant observer must have knowledge not only of attitudes and values, but of the processes of interaction based on stimulus and response. He must recognize communication as involving gestures and their meanings. He must be able to grasp the nature and the meaning of meaning. As a social psychologist he will be able to report the essence of what is going on; otherwise he will report merely the superficial items.¹⁹

The essence of participant observation is "the theory that an interpretation of an event can only be approximately correct when it is a composite of two points of view, the outside and the inside," with both viewpoints being coalesced "in one final synthesis."²⁰ By this definition we have two kinds of observation plus a coalition of interpretations. This is a method of dual observation and synthetic interpretation.

Participant observation is sometimes a form of the group interview.²¹ In the case of a labor union meeting, the member who is the participant observer is really reporting a group discussion; the occasion becomes the most realistic kind of group interview. It is the genuine group interview with no outside distraction or interference of any sort and with the group's actions and reactions being described by one of its own members who understands them.

The orthodox group interview may be included in the participant observation technique. After the regular participant observers have made their reports, then they and the outside observers may hold a group meeting whereby the latter may question the former regarding their reports and also with reference to the events which they have reported. In this way fine points of fact and interpretation may be cleared up.²²

The participant observation method became widely known through its use in modified form by Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd in

¹⁹ For an excellent discussion of meanings see Ogden and Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1922).

²⁰ John J. Hader and Edward C. Lindeman, *Dynamic Social Research* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1933), p. 148.

²¹ The group interview as a research technique is discussed in a later chapter.

²² Cf. John J. Hader and Edward C. Lindeman, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

their study of Middletown. The investigators and staff arrived in Middletown, a Middle Western city with a population of about 40,000, set themselves up inconspicuously, and lived in the community, taking part in many of its activities. In this way they were able to get an inside picture of life in Middletown. The methods used were: "patient observation, interviewing, reading old records and checking and re-checking data."²³ They obtained data along six main lines of activity, namely: getting a living, making a home, training the young, using leisure, religious activity, and community activity; and there sought out the meanings of these activities in the lives of the citizens. The investigators came as outside observers and became participant observers. They maintained their objective viewpoints while engaged in participant observing. They illustrate what can be done by playing a double or dual role as observers.

The special value in participant observation as a research method is that it discloses attitudes, wishes, longings, disillusionments. It gives a picture of "the feel" of a situation, and as such it approaches in character the life history method of obtaining data. In a number of the University of Chicago studies in sociology the participant observer method has been well utilized. Nels Anderson in *The Hobo* writes his analyses in terms of having lived, temporarily to be sure, as a hobo and having experienced many of the problems that hobos face daily.²⁴ To live as the participants in a given problem-situation live is to gain an insight not to be secured in any other way.²⁵

²³ Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1920), p. xi.

²⁴ Nels Anderson, *The Hobo* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1923).

²⁵ For an evaluation of "direct observation" see C. Luther Fry, *The Technique of Social Investigation* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934), Ch. III,

CHAPTER VI

COMMUNITY SURVEY METHODS

The *social survey*, a forerunner of recent community studies, is an old, well-known, and well-established method of investigation. Herodotus reports a population survey of Egypt that was made about 3000 B.C. William the Conqueror made a social survey in England several centuries ago and reported it in the Domesday Book. Frederick Le Play in 1864 published the results of an intensive study of thirty-six families. Ernst Engels made a statistical analysis of workingmen's families, and Charles Booth early in the present century published a ten volume survey of the living and working conditions of the people of East London. In 1907-1908, the Russell Sage Foundation carried out a survey of Pittsburgh and in a way inaugurated the social survey movement in the United States.

The social survey may be either general or special. (1) It may cover all the major phases of a community's life, as the Pittsburgh Survey aimed to do. (2) It may deal with only one aspect of community life, such as housing, or community chest problems. The special survey has tended to receive increased attention because of its less expensive and more intensive methods.¹

A wealth of material on social surveys is available. Part of it is in the form of manuals and guides; part of it presents the findings of various surveys that have been made. An examination of the literature indicates a shift in emphasis to community studies.

Community has both an inclusive and a local meaning. The inclusive refers to a community of spirit while the local to a specific area. The inclusive is the vital setting of the special and hence will be considered first. It will be treated in terms of community patterns.

¹ The best recent illustration of a general survey is the Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, and published by McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. (New York, 1933).

In the larger sense, community means the whole population of any one racial, cultural, or language group. In addition to a common language and tradition, there is also a certain consciousness of common interests. "There is always a larger and more inclusive community; an outside world within which the local or racial community maintains a relatively separate and independent existence."²

STUDYING COMMUNITY PATTERNS

Community in the inclusive sense possesses a varied social organization, which must be understood if one is going to investigate local community problems. Differences in fundamental community patterns need to be sought out as a basis for community research. These differences as illustrated by the Mexican, Chinese, Japanese, and American communities in the United States are vital in interpreting concrete community data.

1. In studying Mexican immigrants of the peon type we do not find a developed communal organization. Having come from a region where illiteracy has prevailed and where democratic control has not been theirs, they are more or less socially helpless in a complex society. In comparison with the organization of American community life they are essentially primitive. Their family life may or may not have been solemnized by marriage;³ their attitude toward desertion is loose; their hospitality is of the communal order; they are socially docile; their social organization is undeveloped like that of green football players gathered together at the beginning of the season, forming a group that is easily disorganized. Their poverty is not only high but is met by themselves only through individual families and not by social organization. Their standards regarding morals are elemental, and their sense of responsibility to the state or other large group units is undeveloped.

2. The Chinese community of the traditional type comprises a

² From unpublished ms. by Robert E. Park.

³ For reasons that are perfectly natural in view of conditions surrounding them in Mexico.

large percentage of the older Chinese in the United States. They have brought with them a family-clan-village type of community encased in centuries of organized traditions.

The family-clan-community, which is well knit together, conflicts with American life. The first generation Chinese-Americans⁴ often find themselves in especially difficult situations. On one hand they owe allegiance to a hard and fast system of parental control over them, and on the other, they are attracted strongly by the freedom accorded American children.

The village type of community is also expressed by the Chinese in America, for example, by the "Chinatowns" which are partly social defense mechanisms. The family-clan-village organization of the older Chinese is considered primitive by Americans; moreover, its rigid traditionalism prevents it from responding to American impacts. It feels the effects of attacks, often vicious, and hence "closes in on itself."⁵

3. The community organization of the older Japanese immigrant, that is, of those forty years of age and older, is of the feudal bureaucratic type. The older Japanese of the peasant class brings with him almost a "blind reverence" for the Mikado and a feudalistic loyalty to Japan, an aristocratic attitude toward his wife, a tendency not to have much to do with Americans (which is augmented by anti-Japanese prejudices of Americans), and an intention of returning to Japan as soon as he has saved up "enough money." He works through agents and representatives more or less bureaucratically. He brings with him a liking for and skill in intensive farming, a Buddhist or Shintoistic religious belief, a seven-day-labor week, and a belief in large families.

Japanese community organization in America develops economic and welfare efficiency methods similar to those prized highly by

⁴Commonly but erroneously known as second generation Chinese.

⁵The Chinese local community has what has been called "a telepathic understanding." Let a stranger appear and "in twenty minutes" word has been passed throughout Chinatown. Personal means of communication are so perfected that it has been said that there are "no secrets in Chinatown."

American business men. News that is pertinent in any way to Japanese immigrant situations is orderly disseminated. Records are kept in detail by organizations, and rational attitudes are maintained.

4. The American type of community is individualistic-industrial. It is based on a pioneer spirit of individual self-sufficiency, and on a philosophy of financial and material success. It believes in *laissez faire*, or "hands off" of business, as far as the government is concerned. It promulgates cooperation for monopolistic purposes, but opposes an inclusive cooperation.

The Mexican peon simplicity of community, the older Chinese family-clan-village community, the older Japanese feudal-bureaucratic community, all exist on the Pacific Coast alongside of each other, often in competition with the prevailing American type of community. Moreover, there are other types of community beside those enumerated here. Social research that ignores the fundamental differences in community organization is blind and superficial.

THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

The community in the local sense is sometimes limited to a natural area.⁶ More often it is spread over parts of more than one natural area. It is often confined to the limits of a retail trade area. There is usually at least a common language, some degree of economic independence, and some consciousness of common interests. The local community is composed of neighborhoods, usually two to six or eight in number. The traffic thoroughfares divide the local community into neighborhoods, which are more social in function. There is always a larger and more inclusive community or an outside world within which the local or racial community maintains a relatively separate and independent existence.

In an interesting analysis made of a local community by Dr. Bessie A. McClenahan it has been shown that a community is today rarely confined to a given locality.⁷ The useful concept of *com-*

⁶ See Chapter III.

⁷ Bessie A. McClenahan, *The Changing Urban Neighborhood* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1929).

munity has been developed by Dr. McClenahan to denote the new type of community, namely, the type which is not limited spatially.⁸ The communality is a grouping of persons having one or more common interests but living "all over town"; its members are not confined to any one area, but are nevertheless bound together by common objects of value.

The communality is a social grouping for the carrying on of an activity, whose members are drawn together on the basis of the common interest or interests subserved. *Neither the communality itself nor its total membership is specifically related to any local area.* It is an activity-circle. It is functional and not spatial.⁹

Two other concepts are important in a community study: locus and status. Locus is spatial placement or place of residence, while status is social placement or place of recognition in a group. The role of status is especially significant in making research studies.

Status is the place which the person occupies in his group and is the result of the person's conception of his own importance and of the role he wishes or believes he should play or does play in relation to other people, and that which is conceived or admitted by the members of the group.¹⁰

Another type of community study of importance is that represented by *The Pilgrims of Russian-Town* by Dr. Pauline V. Young.¹¹ Here is an analysis of people bound closely together by tradition, religion, persecution, and lonesomeness for the home land. Located in Los Angeles, they are a long ways from their home in Russia, geographically, culturally, and psycho-socially. The use of such basic concepts as conflict, accommodation, and assimilation is noteworthy, not only in this study, but in all community studies where invasion has occurred. The techniques used by Dr. Young enabled her to penetrate to a full understanding of the difficult problems of a community of commonly misunderstood people.

Tests are being worked out for measuring community efficiency in particular directions. A membership test for churches is not, as

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹¹ Pauline V. Young, *The Pilgrims of Russian-Town* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932).

pointed out by C. Luther Fry,¹² a complete measure of the current interest, of the community in the church; it is rather an index of the community's traditional interest in the church. Attendance ratios (in rural districts) parallel closely the membership ratios and afford another index to community interest.¹³ Money contributions to the rural church vary directly with the economic prosperity of the persons interested in the church, but are a relatively poor index to community interest in the church.¹⁴ Where the economic prosperity of two local communities is similar, then the money measure will have significance. Density of population and age of the community are also important items.

Progress is being made in "scoring" communities. M. C. Elmer has developed a plan for scoring group activities.¹⁵ Membership in a given cooperative institution in the community, participation in the work of the institutions, payment of dues, attendance, and the extent to which the community reacts to the principles of the given institution are suggested items for evaluation. Such rural studies as those originated by C. J. Galpin have gone far in defining the nature and boundaries of rural communities and neighborhoods.

The grading of neighborhoods, as developed by Clark and Williams,¹⁶ treats them from five angles: (1) neatness, sanitation, improvements, (2) recreational facilities, (3) institutions and establishments, (4) social status of residents, and (5) average quality of homes. Under each of these five approaches five sets of sample conditions ranging from grade points 5 to 1 are given, so that a person who grades a neighborhood may have a definite objective standard. The emphasis upon objective standards is excellent, but the basis for working out these objective standards needs to be the combined judgment of a considerable number of trained community workers. The

¹² *Diagnosing the Rural Church* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1924), p. 102.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹⁵ "The Evaluation and Scoring of Community Activities," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXX:175.

¹⁶ Willis W. Clark and J. Harold Williams, *A Guide to the Grading of Neighborhoods* (Whittier, California: Whittier State School, 1919).

value of a standard, moreover, is subject to variations in the judgments of those applying it to specific neighborhoods. It needs also to be more functional and to deal more largely with activities and personal reactions of the neighborhood's residents. It helps, however, to give a more accurate knowledge of communities.

In the "Social Status Scale 1933" developed by F. Stuart Chapin, emphasis is placed on the "material equipment and cultural expression of the living room of the home" and a list of seventeen items is given. The "recorder" checks the number of each of these items that is found in the given living room. A scale of weights has been worked out with 10 points being assigned to a hardwood floor, 8 to a "large rug," 8 to each periodical taken regularly, 8 to electric light, —2 to kerosene light, —2 to a sewing machine, and so on. The numbers of items are multiplied by the respective weights and a total score obtained. In the same way the condition of the articles in the living room is scored and a total score obtained, and then the two total scores added in order to obtain a social status scale. It is assumed of course that the type, number, and condition of items in the living room is a fair criterion of the social status of the family concerned. Perhaps the Scale is more a measure of economic status than of social status, although the two are closely related. The Scale is accompanied by extensive instructions to the "recorder," and has a great deal of merit for certain limited purposes for which it is designed.*

STUDYING LOCAL COMMUNITY OPINION

Community life in any of its phases cannot be studied without examining community opinion. It is this common opinion which makes and unmakes laws. With it laws are not absolutely necessary. Without it any law is a dead letter. It is a clue to the mores of a group, the bestower of status, and the key to the nature of social conflicts.

*See F. Stuart Chapin, *Contemporary American Institutions* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1935), Ch. XIX, "A Measurement of Social Status."

There are three kinds of opinion.¹⁷ First there is a *general opinion* commonly held and never carefully analyzed. It supports the mores. Second, there is a *majority* and a *minority opinion*, which imply that there has been a discussion of some disputed issue, and that a vote has been taken. Often there are several minority opinions. Third, there is a *consensus opinion* which is an outgrowth of a non-partisan analysis and which represents a joint and mutual judgment arrived at freely and objectively.

A study of personal experiences is the key to understanding community opinion. The best starting point for understanding a local community or retail trade area is in the personal experiences of all who have played a role in its life. The more unique and effective this role the more important the personal experiences of those who have participated.

If some persons have lived their whole lives or nearly all their lives in the given community, their life histories are essential;¹⁸ if these persons have been community leaders their life histories are indispensable sources, in fact, the most important sources of knowledge about the community. The changes in attitudes and activities which they, together with the rank and file, have undergone explain better than anything else, the life story of a community.

If there are people residing in the community, but not functioning in it, their life histories, at least as long as they have lived in the community, are valuable sources of information.¹⁹ Their life histories will probably disclose why the community is not stimulating them and hence is not functioning fully. If there are community residents who have been in escapades either within or without the community, or otherwise have brought "disgrace" upon the community, their life histories will be of special value. The life histories of any persons who have become dependent on charity since residing in the community will be significant.

¹⁷ For a further statement, see E. S. Bogardus, *Sociology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934), pp. 313-315.

¹⁸ See R. E. Park, "A Race Relations Survey," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VIII:202.

¹⁹ For a discussion of life histories, see a later chapter.

To know a community it is important to learn what institutions have grown up in it, how they were started, and what have been the interesting phases of their development. What are the life histories of the schools, churches, leading businesses, recreational institutions?

What are the natural histories of any enterprises which have aimed to serve the community, as such, for example, improvement associations, a P.-T. A., or an annual community pageant? In what ways has the community attracted the attention of other communities? In what particulars and why? What failures of any kind have occurred in the community, and what were the current circumstances and the resultant conditions.

Another approach is to get the history of any social conflicts that have occurred in the community. By a social conflict is meant a misunderstanding that has developed between two or more persons. It may be expressed in open or secret jealousies, in voiced or unvoiced hatreds, in dislikes and animosities, in "not speaking" and "ignoring." It may be represented by segregating processes and in building "high board fences." It may break out in a "neighborhood row," a riot, bloodshed, and spread to other communities and be expressed in discriminating legislation. Election issues may give splendid "leads" to community conflicts.

Then, there are the accommodations ranging from mere aggregations mutually accepted, to the development of good will and assimilation both among individuals and *en masse*. All such developments throw light not only on the nature of local community life, but also on community organization in general.

In one of the neighborhoods studied in the Pacific Race Relations Survey²⁰ a home-to-home study was made of neighborhood opinion. For illustration of method a brief reference will be made to this study. The neighborhood in question is tri-racial, with Caucasians, Negroes, and Japanese intermingled, even to the extent of Caucasians and Negroes, Caucasians and Japanese, Negroes and Japanese

²⁰ Conducted in 1923-1925 under the direction of Dr. Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago.

living in the same flats. Most of the neighborhood, however, is occupied by one-story, four- and five-room cottages.

The Caucasians occupied the region undisturbed until about 1910. Then the Negroes "jumped over" a thoroughfare into the district. Later, about 1918, another Negro center "sprang up," and at the present time the two sporadic Negro settlements have "grown together." About 1914, a few Japanese secured a toehold in the neighborhood. It was not until 1921 that the real Japanese increases began, and now the three races—Caucasians, Japanese and Negroes—are "nicely interspersed."

In the following paragraphs excerpts are made from the home-to-home investigation of the neighborhood, made by a research student, E. F. Bamford. The opinions of the Caucasians, the Negroes, and the Japanese will be presented in order. Taken together they represent a method for studying, in this case, neighborhood opinion.

1. Caucasians and their opinions will be considered first, since they were the first-comers to this area.

As between Negroes and Japanese, I like the Negroes better because they tend to their own business and leave the whites alone. They are neat-looking and have nice homes and keep them nice. I never had any use for the Japanese.²¹

Another Caucasian woman, who still lives in the neighborhood, and in property owned by herself and her husband, prefers the Japanese to the Negroes "because the Japanese are cleaner and neater. Besides they never bother white people, and Negroes sometimes become offensive." But she thinks she cares for Chinese less than for either Japanese or Negroes. This seems to be due to the fact that she had "heard bad things about the Chinese," and had "never lived near them, so I really don't know how I might feel toward them if they were neighbors."

On the other hand, several Caucasians were interviewed who did not seem to object to either their Japanese or Negro neighbors. For instance, a lady who has both Negro and Japanese neighbors said:

I have never had any trouble with people of any nationality or race. I

²¹ From interview notes by E. F. Bamford.

don't see why there should be so much trouble about race relations. I think there are good and bad among every race and nationality. As far as my Japanese and Negro neighbors are concerned, I rather like them, for they are quiet and clean and have a good spirit toward everyone.²²

In these quotations there will be noted conflicts of opinion on the part of Caucasians themselves, and with reference to both Japanese and Negroes. These conflicts of opinion seem to run through the entire investigation. Mrs. W., the lady last quoted above, had at least one significant suggestion, as she continued:

I think there would be no need for trouble with any of these people if folks would only be intelligently tolerant. I have lived in this neighborhood for fifteen years and never had any trouble with neighbors. But perhaps it is logical for educated people to be more tolerant of these people of other races and nationalities than those with only a poor education. I think lots of people who complain about the Japanese and Negroes would learn better if they only lived among them for a time and learned to know them.²³

But while Mrs. W. seemed fairly tolerant, as indicated in the foregoing statements, she also added:

Of course certain limits must be drawn. For instance, I don't think I should ever want any of these people to come into my house in a social way. And I certainly shouldn't want to live in the same house with them.²⁴

In interviewing property owners, one of the principal questions discussed was that of depreciation of property values as a result of the presence of Japanese and Negroes in the neighborhood. While there was a general feeling that this depreciation was inevitable, there were important cases indicating that some of the arguments were not well founded. There is a tendency for property owners in this neighborhood to raise the prices of their property. They know they can sell almost any time for more than the property is really worth, if they sell to Japanese or Negroes.²⁵

These facts, then tend to indicate that the notion of property-value depreciation, although it prevails in this neighborhood, is more or less a myth. But perhaps the most important research feature is the fact that, though a myth, it easily takes on all the force of reality.

²² *Loc. cit.*

²³ *Loc. cit.*

²⁴ *Loc. cit.*

²⁵ *Loc. cit.*

2. Negroes and their opinions will now be considered. Mr. A., a Negro, owns his own home. He likes the neighborhood and would not sell unless he were wealthier and could move to some neighborhood still more desirable. He moved to the present location because he wanted to buy a home and wanted to live in a better neighborhood than where he was. He originally purchased a double house and lot but some time ago he sold half of the lot through a real estate dealer without inquiring as to who was purchasing the lot. He thought it would, of course, be a Negro family on account of the presence on each side of the empty lot of other Negroes. But it was a Japanese who purchased the lot. Mr. A. says he wished it had been a Negro family, but added:

I don't mean to say I don't like the Japs. They are all right. We never have any trouble with them. My little boys play with their children and have a good time. They never bother us and we don't bother them.²⁶

The situation as stated seems to be somewhat typical with reference to the relations between the Negroes and Japanese in this neighborhood. The real conflict seems to be centered more in the attitudes of the whites toward both Japanese and Negroes, and vice versa.

An interviewer reports that in one front yard there were five little boys playing together. Two were Negro children, two were white boys, and one was a Japanese child. There was nothing in their apparent attitudes toward each other which indicated difference of status in the group according to racial descent. It is when these children grow up and become saturated with the social heritage of their family traditions that differences in position seem to arise. And in this neighborhood, there appears to be much wider distinctions between the status of the whites, on the one hand, and that of the Negroes and Japanese, on the other hand, than between the Japanese and Negroes.

But the expressions offered by the Negroes as to their attitudes toward Caucasians are of two kinds. The first is an outgrowth of

²⁶ *Loc. cit.*

their more rational contemplation. The second seems to flare up more out of situations charged with emotional reactions. The first type of attitudes is illustrated in the three statements that follow.

I never reason about which race I like best. It doesn't make any difference to me about races. They're all the same. We get along with all of them all right. If a man is a good neighbor and is all right and behaves himself, it makes no difference to me.²⁷

Referring to her attitude toward her Japanese neighbors, a Negro woman said:

They're just fine. They are fine people. They are so quiet and mind their own business. They never fight among themselves, unless they do inside their houses where nobody can hear them. But we would never know it if they fight 'cause we don't know their language. But they are nice neighbors to have and they never bother us.²⁸

Race prejudice never bothers me because I refuse to enter into arguments about it and I don't let it get at me. The best way to change the race prejudice problem is to change the way people think about it.²⁹

The second type of attitudes is found expressed in the citations from interviews that follow. They reveal harsh experiences and natural reactions to such experiences, which usually involve the encountering of prejudices.

Yes. Any old place. On the streets or cars; in shows or theaters; in parks and churches; in dry goods stores or stores of any kind. In fact any place where I am apt to meet one of Caucasian blood. In high school, prejudice kept me from finishing my last year. If I am hungry, I cannot eat at public places unless owned by one of my own people. If I'm thirsty, I can't drink at any place but one of my own race, no matter how I conduct myself or how I look. In fact, my race is treated as if they were a race of lepers or rattle-snakes.³⁰

I do not judge people by race or nationality. I consider the individual only and I like or dislike the white people least of all. They are always so full of prejudice and hatred to other races. They are so unjust and inhuman when it comes to other races. And the worst of it is, they spread their prejudices to others.³¹

3. The Japanese and their opinions will now be presented and will complete the community opinion picture.

We like it here. We tend to our own work, and don't bother our neigh-

²⁷ *Loc. cit.*

²⁸ *Loc. cit.*

²⁹ *Loc. cit.*

³⁰ *Loc. cit.*

³¹ *Loc. cit.*

bors, and aren't bothered by them in return. Our children play with the Negro children and the white children. Our children like the schools.³²

One Japanese man said: "I try to make my yard look like other good ones here." Another said: "We are called 'Japs' and things are often blamed on us that we didn't do, but we can't help that." And another:

There seems to be more prejudice than there used to be, but with it, we are better off than in Japan. Everything in America is so much bigger, there is so much more opportunity.

White people don't have much to do with us, although two or three women have come in and asked if there was anything to do, when my little Mary was sick. They don't speak to us much except when we are working for them. As they go along the street they more often than not speak to my children. No, I don't believe in intermarriage or segregation either. Everybody ought to be taken for what he is, and not judged by the color of his skin.

We move in here with the Negroes because they have less prejudice against us than whites. They befriend us, and act glad we are here. Sometimes they hold their heads pretty high, though, but are good to my children. The whites got used to the Negroes before we came, and they have let us come in.³³

The Japanese here are of the better class peasants and are second or third settlement people, that is, they have lived in a first-settlement district, but as they have progressed they have moved into a second-settlement neighborhood, and so on, moving from a strictly Oriental district into one less Oriental, and then moving again, until finally they are partly Americanized and their children, noticeably Americanized.

The foregoing excerpts of tri-racial community opinion are not at all exhaustive; they are not complete in any sense — but they indicate a method that is productive of interesting and enlightening results, and that is unusually promising if pursued diligently.

STUDYING AREAS OF COMMUNITY OPINION

In a conflict situation there are usually *high pressures* and *low pressures* of community opinion. Unlike meteorological conditions these areas are relatively stationary; the high pressure areas fluctuate between increasing and decreasing pressures over a period of years. New high pressure areas occasionally appear, while old ones disappear. The high pressure areas of anti-Japanese opinion, in the

³² *Loc. cit.*

³³ *Loc. cit.*

United States in 1924, for example, were not coincident with all the areas of Japanese settlement, but particularly with those areas where there was an "invasion" by the Japanese of moderately or high-priced residence property in cities occupied by Americans, and in rural areas where the "invasion" was taking place rapidly or where an illiterate type of immigrant was conspicuous and on the increase.

The "fair play" pressure areas are more diffused, more rational, and less dynamic. Sometimes they center in an organization for international good will, or a broad-gauge church organization. There is also a large amount of uncrystallized fair play and good will spirit existing between persons who have religious, business, or local community contacts, but whose fair-play spirit rarely gets expressed. Then, there is a fair-play opinion which talks much but stops with passing resolutions.

The high-pressure areas of antagonistic opinion are concentrated, while the fair play areas are often lacking in cooperation. The pressure is higher in the antagonistic areas than in the fair play areas. The former usually seem to have more emotional pressure per unit of expression than the latter, and hence create more activity, excitement, furore, and give the impression of being more general. The former contain more dynamite; the latter lose themselves in diffusion. A minority antagonistic opinion is likely to outdo and out-influence by far a majority "fair-play" opinion. It meets with prompter and more dynamic responses.

One man who holds his belief tenaciously counts for as much as several men who hold theirs weakly, because he is more aggressive and thereby compels and overawes others into apparent agreement with him, or at least into silence and inaction.³⁴

Between all the high pressure areas are regions of dead calm, or of only small eddies. These "between regions" call for study also; they are influenced one way and another by the outreaching whirls of both the antagonistic and fair-play pressures, and sometimes are dis-

³⁴ A. L. Lowell, *Public Opinion and Popular Government* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1921), p. 14.

turbed by flurries caused by a reported immigrant "invasion" into a given neighborhood.

The various "areas" need to be examined as "publics"; they are "circles of mutual influence," each is characterized by its own "universe of discourse." The publics reach from emanating centers of new feelings, ideas, and programs to jagged and intangible, and over-lapping circumferences. Each public has shifting centers of attention. If it were not so, interest would die out; and hence, in order to maintain an active opinion, certain publics, especially those of "anti" tendencies, use special means to create new centers of attention.

In any piece of community research it is essential that the high pressure and low pressure areas of public opinion be charted. Antagonistic areas and fair play areas need to be examined. The study of opinions and attitudes requires a special technique, which will be considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VII

MEASURING OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES

In devising a way to measure public opinion it is wise to begin with small definable groups. In attempting to measure group opinion a technique may be described which in modified form can be applied to measuring large-scale public opinion.

At present we measure public opinion in a democracy through voting. Voting, however, is simple and not always enlightening concerning the attitudes of the people. We need a device which will indicate (1) how definitely persons are on the affirmative or negative side of a question, (2) how many are lukewarm on each side, (3) how many are not interested because they have no information, (4) how many have information but are deadlocked in their attitudes, and (5) what changes in each of the foregoing four particulars occur in the course of a stated time. Can such a device be kept simple enough so that it may be extensively employed?

Voting yes or no is the simplest method of recording group opinion. It is too simple, for it reduces choice to one of only two possibilities. The question may be raised, therefore, can a method of recording group opinion be devised which will give group members opportunity to choose between more than two possibilities and yet which will be practical enough to be of general or public use?

To this end an eight-point scale has been devised.¹ The initial section is arranged as follows:

I

INSTRUCTIONS

Instructions: Do not sign your name. Give yourself entire free-

¹ Emory S. Bogardus, "Measuring Public Opinion," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVII:465-469.

dom in marking the questions. Mark each question with one of the following signs:

+3	+2	+1	0	⊖	−1	−2	−3
----	----	----	---	---	----	----	----

It is believed that three positive choices (or three negative choices) are as many choices as the ordinary person can discriminate between with any significant degree of skill.¹ Two zero choices are given—one denoting absence of knowledge and the other (indicated by a zero cut in half by a horizontal line) signifying knowledge but with both sides of a question equally strong in the voter's judgment.

For illustrative purposes six sample questions are given which have been submitted to a graduate Seminar in Public Opinion numbering twenty persons (Group A), and to fifty members of an undergraduate class in Social Psychology (Group B). These questions were:

CHART II

SAMPLE PROPOSITIONS

1. (Mark here).....The U. S. should join the League of Nations with safeguarding reservations.
2.The U. S. has carried a high tariff policy too far.
3.The U. S. should establish a Department of Education with a Secretary of Education.
4.Catholics, Jews, and Protestants in the U. S. should have a strong joint Commission on Social Welfare presenting a united front on certain economic and social questions.
5.The U. S. should make motion pictures a public utility regulated by a Federal Commission.
6.The U. S. should adopt a general two per cent sales tax.

All plus and minus 3 votes are counted as 3, plus 2 and minus 2 votes as 2, plus 1 and minus 1 as 1, zero votes as 0. All plus votes are added together; likewise all minus votes. The smaller total is subtracted from the larger and divided by the total number of voters. The result is the Group Opinion Quotient and may be either

¹Based on experiments devised and carried out by H. Earl Pemberton, under the direction of the writer. See H. Earl Pemberton, "Optimum Rating Scale for Public Opinion," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVII:470-472.

a plus or minus number and may range through 0 from plus 3 to minus 3.

If all the voters are "very positive" on the affirmative side of a question the G. O. Q. will be +3. If all are "very negative," the G. O. Q. will be -3. If no one has any knowledge or if all are deadlocked the G. O. Q. would be 0.

The Group Opinion Quotient is indicative concerning attitudes as well as opinions for it shows something regarding seriousness of feeling. It forecasts action or probable inaction. Votes count most which are most decisive; least, when indecision (due either to lack of knowledge, or a deadlocked state of mind) obtains.

TABLE IV
GROUP OPINION QUOTIENTS

<i>Questions</i>	<i>Groups</i>	<i>+3</i>	<i>+2</i>	<i>+1</i>	<i>0</i>	\ominus	<i>-1</i>	<i>-2</i>	<i>-3</i>	<i>G.O.Q.</i>
1	A	4	7	7	0	1	0	0	1	1.50
	B	16	15	10	0	1	1	1	6	1.34
2	A	9	5	3	1	0	0	0	2	1.70
	B	13	9	14	5	3	2	4	0	1.22
3	A	7	4	3	3	0	1	0	2	1.25
	B	28	12	6	0	2	0	0	2	2.16
4	A	14	3	1	1	0	1	0	0	2.40
	B	25	7	8	5	8	2	0	0	1.90
5	A	6	4	6	1	0	2	0	1	1.25
	B	8	6	5	2	3	8	8	10	.26
6	A	0	2	5	5	0	6	1	1	.10
	B	3	5	6	21	2	6	3	4	.02

The reliability of this group opinion measure has been calculated for groups of different sizes by H. Earl Pemberton. Table V gives the results for groups of 25, 50, and 100 persons respectively. The high reliability is partly to be accounted for by the role of remembering.

TABLE V
RELIABILITY

<i>Group Size</i>	<i>Reliability</i>	<i>Probable Error</i>
25	.971	.009
50	.973	.008
100	.985	.004

The reliability was calculated in the following manner. The opinion scales were given by Dr. Pemberton twice to student groups, with an interval of two days between the first and the second testing. The G. O. Q. for each question was calculated separately for each testing. The G. O. Q. of identical questions in the first and second tests were correlated. This coefficient was taken as the reliability.

An examination of Table IV is enlightening. (1) It not only gives an affirmative or negative vote on each question, but indicates the degree of the affirmative or of the negative answer. The Group Opinion Quotients reflect how strongly a group thinks either for or against a question. (2) Table IV shows the questions about which the group is most in doubt. (3) It indicates whether the indecision is due to lack of knowledge or to a deadlock of opinion because both sides of a given question are deemed of equal worth. (4) Table IV affords a detailed comparative picture of two groups (in this case A is a graduate group, and B is undergraduate).

Another approach to the measurement of public opinion has been made by Joseph M. Bobbitt.² A number of public issues were stated. In the next place, three of the main possible courses by way of solution of the problem involved in each of the public issues were carefully framed. These possible solutions were then submitted to the groups of persons for their reactions. Moreover, provision is made for the subjects to indicate whether or not they consider the issue important. Two sample issues used by Mr. Bobbitt will be stated here; the three possible solutions to each will be given; the results ob-

² As a member of the writer's graduate "Seminar in Public Opinion," 1933-1934, University of Southern California.

tained from securing the opinions of two groups of students (112 undergraduate students and 17 graduate students) are cited. All figures are in terms of percentages.

I. Recently there have been several outbreaks of mob violence. In order to discourage and to prevent similar outbreaks in the future governing officials should:

1. Increase the legal penalties for crime. (Undergraduates, 10.7; graduates, 0.0).
2. Begin serious work on the task of reforming our court procedure in the interest of speed, efficiency, and justice. (Undergraduates, 74; graduates, 94.1).
3. Launch a vigorous educational campaign to increase respect for law and order. (Undergraduates, 15.1; graduates, 5.9).

Relatively important (undergraduates, 98.8; graduates, 94.1).

II. The Copeland bill, that is, the new pure food and drug bill before Congress, offers consumers adequate protection against poisonous cosmetics, impure and dangerous drugs, and adulterated foods. Since food and drug regulations affect three industries, the smallest of which operates on a billion dollar a year basis, the Federal Government should:

1. Frame food and drug legislation in such a way as to hurt business as little as possible. (Undergraduates, 8.0; graduates, 0.0).
2. Prohibit the sale of definitely dangerous foods, drugs, and cosmetics, but allow the free sale of inferior but harmless foods and cosmetics. (Undergraduates, 12.5; graduates, 5.9).
3. Frame food and drug legislation designed to give the consumer absolute protection against all harmful and worthless foods, drugs, and cosmetics, regardless of the effect on business. (Undergraduates, 79.5; graduates, 94.1).

Relatively important (Undergraduates, 74.1; graduates, 88.2).

Since the results of this test show how people feel regarding the major probable solutions of a problem and also how important the given problem is considered to be, it becomes a test worthy of serious consideration and deserving of extended experimentation. It is simply devised, easily applicable, and scored without any special difficulty.³

Another type of test for measuring group opinion is that in which individuals are given a number of statements regarding a particular proposition, ranging from ultra-conservative to ultra-radical, and are

³ For a full description, see Joseph M. Bobbitt, "The Measurement of Public Opinion," *Sociology and Social Research*, XIX:55-60.

asked to choose the statement in this series of perhaps eleven which most nearly represents their own attitudes.⁴ In connection with each proposition and its series of graduated statements the subject is asked to indicate the degree of his certainty regarding the choice that he has made. This scale runs as follows: Extremely uncertain, rather uncertain, moderately certain, fairly firm belief, and extremely certain conviction. One of the propositions presented by Allport and Hartman related to the prohibition question (a few years ago). It read as follows:

- The present constitutional amendment prohibiting alcoholic liquors and the law interpreting this amendment are both satisfactory: enforcement should be made more severe.
- The present amendment and interpretation are satisfactory, but a *more uniform* enforcement is necessary.
- The laws at present are not wholly successful, but they should be upheld since they will be successful after a generation of education and enforcement.
- The laws are on the whole acceptable, but minor changes will be found necessary from time to time.
- Prohibition is correct in principle and although it cannot be completely enforced, should nevertheless be retained.
- Though prohibition is good in principle, it cannot be enforced, and therefore is actually doing more harm than good.
- It should be left to the separate states to decide whether they wish to permit the open saloon.
- The making of wine and beer in the home for strictly private use should be permitted.
- Stores, under government control, for the sale of wines and beer not to be consumed on the premises, should be permitted.
- It should be left open to counties, townships, or cities whether they wish to permit the open saloon.
- The sale of light wine and beer should be permitted in licensed cafes and restaurants.
- Stores, under government control, for the sale of moderate quantities of any alcoholic liquors should be permitted.
- The open saloon system should be universally permitted.

By this test the subject is afforded two opportunities. First he can

⁴Floyd H. Allport and D. A. Hartman, "The Measurement and Motivation of Atypical Opinion in a Certain Group," *American Political Science Review*, XIX, No. 4, 735-760.

indicate his opinion concerning the issue with some degree of discrimination. Second, he can make clear the degree of conviction that he feels concerning the merit of his choice and hence the extent to which his opinion is subject to change.

A weakness in this kind of test, pointed out by L. L. Thurstone, is that the total number of items do not necessarily represent equal gradations of opinions. In his studies of opinion measurement, Thurstone has developed a technique for securing a fairly equal gradation of the items from which the subject makes his choice.⁵ The method has been used in making a social distance scale. Thurstone's technique in developing scales for measuring opinions has received widespread attention.⁶ The tests and scales for measuring attitudes and opinions reach up into the hundreds. Although additions are continually being made, further experimentation is needed before completely satisfactory tests will be devised.

The writer has given attention to a scale for measuring attitudes and opinions. The results will be presented in the following discussion of the social distance scale.

In developing a scale for measuring social distance the writer has attempted to penetrate through opinions to attitudes.⁷ Attitudes may be regarded as more fundamental than opinions. They may be defined as established acquired tendencies to act, and can finally be analyzed through studying actions that are repeated. By asking persons to give their first feeling reactions to a number of questions it is thought that they will disclose attitudes. When allowed time to think one is likely to rationalize and to express opinions, but without such a time allowance their attitudes tend to come to the fore.

By using the social distance scale⁸ it is possible to gain insight

⁵ See L. L. Thurstone, "Attitudes Can Be Measured," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII:529-554.

⁶ L. L. Thurstone and E. J. Chave, *The Measurement of Attitudes* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929).

⁷ Emory S. Bogardus, "A Social Distance Scale," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVII:265-271.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*

into the "first feeling reactions" and hence of the attitudes of a person, or of a group of persons on almost any major issue. The social distance test lends itself to modification in many ways.

In making the social distance scale in its present form⁹ the writer prepared a list of 60 single sentence descriptions, nearly all of which were heard in ordinary conversations where a person was expressing himself about other persons. These statements represent several different types of social relationships; that is, they relate to contacts within the family, within social or fraternal groups, within neighborhoods, within churches, within schools, within play groups, within transportation groups, within occupational and business groups, within political or national groups.

One hundred persons¹⁰ were invited to rate each of the sixty statements according to the amount of social distance which it is judged that the statements represent.¹¹ Each of the 100 persons was asked to judge the amount of social distance which he thought existed between the person making, for example, statement No. 1 and the person concerning whom it was made, from the standpoint of the first two persons involved. In the same fashion each statement was judged.

SOCIAL DISTANCE STATEMENTS

1. "Would marry."
2. "Would be willing to have my brother or sister marry."
3. "Would be willing to have my son or daughter marry."
4. "Would have as chums."
5. "Would have a minority in my social club, fraternity, or lodge."
6. "Would have as a majority in my social club, fraternity, or lodge."
7. "Would debar from my social club, fraternity, or lodge."

⁹ Now available in an experimental edition, mimeographed form, covering four pages, with page 1 given over to instructions; page 2, to racial distances; page 3, to occupational distance; and page 4, to religious distance. An additional but separate page explains the method of scoring.

¹⁰ The writer wishes to express special thanks to each of these persons who so generously gave his time in acting as a judge.

¹¹ Although the writer is indebted for the technique used in preparing this new social distance scale chiefly to Thurstone and Chave, *The Measurement of Attitude* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), he has varied somewhat from this method.

8. "Would have as my regular friends."
9. "Would decline to have as friends."
10. "Would have merely as speaking acquaintances."
11. "Would decline to speak to."
12. "Would have as my guests at public dinners."
13. "Would decline to be seen with in public."
14. "Would have as my guests at private dinners."
15. "Would entertain overnight in my home."
16. "Would decline to invite to my home."
17. "Would allow one family only (of their group) to live in my city block."
18. "Would allow several families (of their group) to live in my city block."
19. "Would live surrounded by them in their neighborhood."
20. "Would rejoice when as my neighbors they gained increased social standing."
21. "Would feel disturbed when as my neighbors they gained increased social standing."
22. "Would debar from my neighborhood."
23. "Would take as my guests at church."
24. "Would have a few as members of my church."
25. "Would have one-half of my church composed of their group."
26. "Would have as my pastor, or religious guide."
27. "Would have as my teachers."
28. "Would allow a few of their children to attend school with my children."
29. "Would have none of their children attend school with my children."
30. "Would have two-thirds of the school attended by my children composed of their children."
31. "Would have their children attend segregated schools."
32. "Would have my small children play with them regularly."
33. "Would have their young people as social equals for my adolescent sons and daughters."
34. "Would forbid my children from playing with their children."
35. "Would dance with in public regularly."
36. "Would dance with in private regularly."
37. "Would play bridge or golf with regularly."
38. "Would play bridge or golf with occasionally."
39. "Would decline to play bridge or golf with."
40. "Would take as guests on automobile trips."

41. "Would ride with them as their automobile guests."
42. "Would decline to ride in an automobile with them."
43. "Would have them ride in segregated sections of street cars."
44. "Would ride in same seat with them in street cars."
45. "Would have as mayors of cities in my country."
46. "Would have several of them in our Congress."
47. "Would debar them from being congressmen."
48. "Would have as president of my country."
49. "Would have as voting citizens of my country up to 1/5th of total population."
50. "Would have as voting citizens of my country up to 1/3rd of total population."
51. "Would have as voting citizens of my country up to 2/3rds of total population."
52. "Would allow as visitors in my country but without citizenship rights."
53. "Would keep out of my country entirely either as visitors or citizens."
54. "Would work beside in an office."
55. "Would decline to work with in same office."
56. "Would work under as my supervisor."
57. "Would have them as my business partners."
58. "Would have them in a competitive business near my business location."
59. "Would have them in a noncompetitive business near my business location."
60. "Would debar them as competitors in my business."

Each of the 60 statements was typed on a 3 by 5 slip of paper. Each judge was given the 60 different slips of paper and asked to distribute them in seven boxes or piles representing seven different degrees of social distance.¹²

When this was done each judge was asked to study carefully the slips in each box or pile and to reclassify any that might be rated more accurately. No rule was made looking toward an even distribution. It was stated, however, that at the close of the exercise, each of the seven boxes must contain at least one slip. In case more

¹² Thurstone advocates a much larger number of divisions than seven, but preliminary experimentation by the writer raised the question whether the ordinary person can make very many more than seven clear-cut discriminations in dealing with materials of this type. There is room for further experimentation at this point.

than 15 slips (25 per cent of the total) appeared in any box it was concluded that sufficient discrimination had not been used;¹³ and the work of this judge was discarded.¹⁴

Social distance was defined in this instance for each judge as "the degree of sympathetic understanding" that exists between two persons or between a person and a group (personal distance and personal-group distance). The judge was urged to view the social distance situation described on each slip as objectively as possible. Each judge of course worked independently of the others.

The 100 judges included 66 faculty members and graduate students, all imbued with something of the research point of view, and 34 undergraduates. The number included 62 women and 38 men.¹⁵

The judgments, ranging from 1 to 7 for each of the 60 statements by the 100 judges were added and the arithmetic mean taken. The mean varied from 1.00 for statement No. 1 to 6.98 for statement No. 53. In order to obtain a series of equal social-distance situations, the statements having means nearest 2.00, 3.00, 4.00, 5.00 and 6.00 were selected, which together with the statements (1 and 53) having means of 1.00 and 6.98, constitute the series of seven nearly equidistant social distance situations that were selected for the scale.¹⁶ The seven statements are as follows:

II

SEVEN EQUIDISTANT SOCIAL SITUATIONS

1. Would marry
2. Would have as regular friends
3. Would work beside in an office

¹³ Following Thurstone's suggestion, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ There were only two such cases. In each of these instances, however, there was a very uneven distribution as far as the remaining six boxes were concerned.

¹⁵ The materials on hand show interesting differences between the social distance reactions of faculty members and graduate students on one hand, and of undergraduates on the other; also the differences in the social distance reactions of men and women.

¹⁶ The wording of statement No. 6 which originally read "Would debar from my neighborhood" has been changed to its following form in order to make it more uniform with the wording of the other statements. Likewise No. 7 originally read "Would debar from my country."

4. Would have several families in my neighborhood
5. Would have merely as speaking acquaintances
6. Would have live outside my neighborhood
7. Would have live outside my country

In administering the test the subject is given a list of 40 races, 30 occupations, and 30 religions together with the following general instructions:

III

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

You are urged to give yourself as complete freedom as possible. In fact, the greater the freedom you give yourself, the more valuable will be the results. Use only check marks or crosses.

Seven kinds of social contacts are given.

You are asked to give in every instance your first feeling reactions. Proceed through the tests without delaying. The more you "stop to think," the less valuable will be the results. Give your reactions to every race, occupation, or religion in the following lists.

Social distance means the different degrees of sympathetic understanding that exist between persons. This test relates to a special form of social distance known as personal-group distance, or the distance that exists between a person and groups, such as races, occupations, and religions.

By taking this test at intervals of six months or a year, a person can discover what some of the changes in attitudes are that he is undergoing. If given to a group at intervals, changes in group attitudes may likewise be gauged.

Specific instructions are also given as follows but are repeated at intervals so as to keep them before the subject's mind as steadily as possible.

IV

SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS

Remember to give your first feeling reactions in every case.

Give your reactions to each race as a group. Do not give your reactions to the best or the worst members that you have known.

Put a cross after each race in as many of the seven columns as your feeling reactions dictate.

The instructions issued to persons administering the test include the following practical suggestions:

V

ADMINISTERING SUGGESTIONS

In giving this test to a group it is best for the leader to read over aloud the first page of the test and the instructions at the top of the second page, and to give opportunity for questions concerning the procedure.

It is also well for the leader to take one of the scales and as he reads the names in the left hand column on each page, to go through the exercise himself, reading the names of each race, occupation, religion aloud. In this way he will set a good example as a participant, and secure the best possible co-operation; moreover, he will be able from time to time to compare his own social distance reactions in each of the three fields.

The scoring procedure is kept as simple as possible, so that the persons may score their own test records.

VI

SCORING SUGGESTIONS

In scoring, the simple practice is used of adding the numbers of the columns nearest to the left which has been checked, for instance, for each race, that is, the checked column bearing the lowest number, and of adding these numbers for each race and dividing by the total number of races that have been checked. In this way it is possible to obtain a person's racial distance quotient (Ra. D. Q.); also his occupational distance quotient (O. D. Q.), and his religious distance quotient (Re. D. Q.). By adding these and dividing by three, a number will be obtained which may be called his social distance quotient (S. D. Q.). If other distance tests are devised and taken by an individual, the results may be included in determining the individual's S. D. Q.

By taking the lowest column number that is checked, for example, for each race by each member of a group of persons and averaging the total it is possible to obtain a group racial distance quotient (G. Ra. D. Q.) for the given group toward each of the 40 races that are listed on p. 2 of the mimeographed form. In the same way group occupation distance and group religious quotients can be obtained.

If a given race, occupation, or religion has not been checked it should be omitted in the scoring.

When the techniques for measuring opinions and attitudes are perfected they will enable the research person to gain a knowledge of meanings. They indicate how persons define or interpret social situations. They show what role or roles a person thinks that he is playing in a given situation. They clarify the *raison d'etre* of social

conflicts. They point to ways and means of reducing or solving social problems. They need, however, to be supplemented by a careful development of interviewing methods.¹⁷

¹⁷ Cf. Read Bain, "Theory and Measurement of Attitudes and Opinions," *The Psychological Bulletin*, 27:357-379, for an excellent bibliography and classification of materials on the theory and practice of measuring attitudes and opinions.

CHAPTER VIII

GROUP INTERVIEWS

The *group interview* is a method whereby an interviewer meets with a number of people at a given time and obtains certain information from them while they are assembled together. The data may be secured either by the use of verbal discussion or written questions.

In the group interview it is possible to secure preliminary explanations of situations and problems and to obtain reactions from certain members of a group which are suggested there and then by the remarks of other members. Group discussion brings out points that otherwise would remain obscure.

Preliminary data of importance can be secured by the group interview. It is possible to secure from groups formal materials, such as the names of persons who have first-hand knowledge of the problem being studied, and of persons who would be of especial help in securing data. A considerable amount of explorative work can be done in this way, such as the securing of "leads," and the gathering of "card catalogue" materials.

Group interviews may be conducted either prior to, subsequent to, or in conjunction with personal interviews. In general the group interviews may well precede the bulk of a series of personal interviews. The group interview is a substitute for the less personal phases of personal interviews. Since the latter is expensive in time and sometimes in money, and is a slow way by which to secure data, the group interview may be utilized to advantage. A large amount of valuable work in connection with personal interviews can be accomplished by the group interview, leaving to the personal interviews the gathering of most vital data. The group interview is used not as a substitute for the personal interview as a whole, but as a substitute for the less personal phases of the latter.

Actual investigation may be started in the group interview. An introductory one-page questionnaire may often be submitted to a group to advantage, providing the interest of the group has first been aroused and a willingness to participate has been indicated.

The success of the group interview depends in part on the relations of the leader to the group and on his attitudes toward the project. If he is one whom all know and have confidence in and who is scientific and considerate in methods of presentation, good results may be expected. If the leader is a propagandist the results will be of doubtful value. He will unintentionally or intentionally make explanatory remarks that will color the results. If he is relatively unknown to his group, or if he is arbitrary, then little of value will come of the interview.

If the chairman is a teacher or official and the group is a class in a college, a lodge, a labor union, a church, then the former has a definite claim on the group. If the leader is in good standing, is well liked, and is deeply interested in the project that is being investigated he can easily secure the needed cooperation in the group interview. The less the social distance between the leader and the group the better. The attitudes of the leader toward the group interview are all-important. The leader can defeat it if he assumes an indifferent or listless attitude, but if he is deeply interested in it and is well liked, the group interview is almost certain to be worth while.

A group of persons in early maturity often respond better to a group interview than do adolescents or older persons. The adolescents ordinarily do not possess enough experiences or facts that are of value. The older persons have too many inhibitions and too many "reserve mechanisms." In one group interview with an audience of mature, even public-spirited leaders, the writer found that they were more intent on passing resolutions than on contributing data that might have scientific value. They were especially slow in disclosing their own experiences in any worth while way.

An interesting informal type of group interview is reported by

H. N. Evans in connection with his work among the primitive people of Borneo. On one occasion he wished to secure from a hut full of natives a number of folk stories or tales. But the people "glowered, and would hardly answer the most innocent questions."¹ Evidently they were suspicious, and no results were in sight. Then he challenged and even chided them, and demonstrated his own knowledge of their folk tales. He told them that they ought to be ashamed of themselves and that in other Dusun villages he had obtained many stories. Then he proceeded to tell some of their own stories, whereupon their leaders chuckled and he received as many stories as he could write out.²

It is best to plan a group interview so that it can be completed before the meeting adjourns. To ask the members to take forms to be filled out at home or at leisure and "to mail them in" usually results in very incomplete results. If a written form is to be used it had better be put in such an abbreviated shape that it can be filled out during the interview. The chief exception to this rule is found in continuity groups such as classes that meet regularly. In this connection it is possible to substitute an assignment calling for a written-out statement of personal experiences instead of a formal term paper, even a "life history" for a term paper.

In all group interviews the experimental materials need to be tried out carefully beforehand on one's self and collaborators. It is a gross waste of time and energy to submit an incompletely worked out or half-baked project to a large group of people. It is necessary to map out a project carefully beforehand and to experiment with a few especially interested friends.

In addition to delineating the project beforehand, the director of the group interview must develop as much rapport as possible between himself and those present. From the beginning of the interview to the end, the director of it must remain alert to stimulating

¹ H. N. Evans, *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo* (London: Seeley, Service and Co., 1924), pp. 171-172.

² *Loc. cit.*

everyone present to participate as fully as possible. Sometimes he can do this best by telling some of his own related experiences, and sometimes by evoking from some one in the group an account of his experiences which will stimulate others to volunteer important data.

In one type of group interview relating to a race conflict the first main objective was gained by obtaining the names of many persons who had participated extensively in the conflict and who could, if they would, furnish the most pertinent data. In the second place a small number of very important participants in the conflict volunteered to furnish considerable data, privately, that is, through personal interviews. In other words the group interview opened up several new avenues for valuable personal interviews.

Another type of group interview was developed in the Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles.³ Several public school teachers participated. The best results came from an English class in which the teacher, who had a real interest in boys and who enjoyed their confidence, assigned as a normal written exercise in English the general theme of "Leisure Time Activities," and then suggested the following questions as a guide for a paper to be written during the class period. The aim was to secure data that would throw light on the attitudes of boys and girls toward motion pictures.

CHART III

GROUP INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. What are your most interesting activities outside of school hours?
2. Explain in detail why attending movies comes high or low on your list of activities.
3. Are the movies more or less interesting to you than they were a year ago? Why?
4. Describe the phases that you like best to see.
5. When and under what conditions did you first become interested in the movies?
6. What else besides the picture interests you? Give illustrations.

³ Referred to in Chapter II.

The resultant papers were valuable, not for statistical purposes, but because of the valuable hints that were disclosed concerning attitudes toward motion pictures. The papers indicated what boys might be interviewed personally to advantage. Some of the answers were stereotyped; some were witless; some aired opinions; a number gave thoughtful replies and indicated that important results might be obtained through specially arranged personal interviews.

In the aforementioned Boys' Work Survey another type of group interview, namely, the discussion type, was tried out with productive results. Fourteen group interviews were arranged with as many different types of boys' welfare leaders. Each leader called a meeting of ten to twenty representative persons of experience in his field or under his supervision who were working with boys. Each group interview was held at a time suitable to the particular group: one at 10 A.M., four at 12 o'clock, two at 4 P.M., four at 6 P.M., and three at 7:30 P.M. Each lasted two or three hours. The list of groups was as follows:

CHART IV

GROUP INTERVIEWS

Playground directors	Probation officers
Y. M. C. A. boys' directors	Juvenile police officers
Catholic boys' workers	Neighborhood conference
Jewish boys' workers	Social research workers
Colored boys' workers	Conferences of boys
"Special school" principals	Scoutmasters
School attendance officers	Social workers

Each of these fourteen groups was addressed briefly by the general director of the research project on the nature of the research problem, on how the community is becoming interested in boys, and how the experiences of successful boys' workers might be of help in the development of a greater community interest in boys and in boys' welfare agencies. Some of the experiences that other boys' workers had reported were related. The nature of social research as being

confidential, similar for example to medical research, was made clear. Some of the questions upon which information of an experience-nature rather than of an opinion-nature was desired, were mentioned, and the slips of paper of uniform size were distributed to each person present. Upon each of these, four questions had been neatly typed. Each person was asked to feel free to present any data that any one or all of these questions suggested to him. The questions follow:

CHART V

TOPICS FOR GROUP DISCUSSION

1. What are your biggest problems in working with boys? What do you worry about most?
2. What would you say are the boys' biggest problems? What do they worry about most?
3. What do you do for boys that they respond to best? How do you effect changes in their attitudes toward life?
4. What changes in methods of working with boys have you made since you first became interested in them?
(Experiences rather than opinions are valuable.)

Anyone who would volunteer was asked to start out, and then others followed in order around the circle. The group interview was usually held with everyone seated around a large table, or at least in an informal circle. Informality was encouraged.

Sometimes a person would take the questions too formally and reduce his answers to trite statements. The discussion immediately went on to the next person, and then later the person who had fallen into a stilted questionnaire habit would usually "loosen up," become personally interested, and relate valuable experiences.

Questions in the form of declarative remarks were introduced occasionally by the director. Often such a remark from his own experience would stimulate four or five others to want to describe their experiences. Often several would try to talk simultaneously. It was not uncommon for one person to tell so much that others would interrupt him, asking for an explanation, and for the first person to

stop suddenly with an exclamation: "I'm afraid I've said too much."

In referring to the questions before him each person would usually make statements that would call for further explanation and interpretation. In watching for significant statements of this kind and in centering the discussion upon them, the person in charge of the interview can be instrumental in having new points brought out. Often a statement by one member starts new trains of thought in the minds of several other persons present and as a result the stock of pertinent data is materially increased.

One of the special values of the group interview is that there are always persons present who disclose themselves as possessors of data of a nature too personal to be related except in a personal interview. Practically every group interview may be followed by a series of significant personal ones. It thus functions as a first-class explorational enterprise, uncovering or pointing to the sources of valuable source materials.

Moreover, in the excitement which a group interview at times may attain, and particularly in the counter statements made by one person in answer to another's disclosure, data will be brought to the surface that a personal interview might not evoke at all. At nearly every group interview a question or pertinent remark will elicit contradictory replies from two or more who are present. At once each person will feel called upon to defend his position and in so doing will draw upon his store of reserve experiences in surprising ways. It is not the arguments and opinions that are revealing but rather the bits of significant information that are released for argument's sake which often tell mighty tales. As a result of group discussion certain persons will supply data which otherwise might never be uncovered.

If each group is composed of persons who know one another well and are accustomed to work together, then the group interview becomes a confidential discussion and analysis. If the leader of the group interview, as the only "new" person present, has the confidence of all present, he can acquire far-reaching insight into the

problem under consideration, and at the same time render a service to all the participants by stimulating them to a new understanding of their problems.

One of the most interesting group interviews in which the writer has participated was of a specialized sort. It was a boys' group interview. It was held at a branch library in an industrial and business area where many of the numerous boys had been getting into trouble and becoming delinquent. The group was abnormally large, for forty-five were present. After brief explanatory remarks including a reference to the new play facilities that were soon to be brought to the community, the boys were asked to tell what they would like to have in that community which they did not have.

Later in the group interview the boys were asked to tell why so many boys were getting into trouble in the community. Of course the older and more troublesome boys were not present, but there were in attendance boys who "ran with" the older boys, younger boys who could and did tell a great deal, and older boys who on the other hand had a real sense of responsibility.

At first the statements of the boys were brief, insignificant, and valueless, but presently one boy made a statement which the others challenged and promptly five boys were talking at once. They threw caution to the winds and "told on" each other freely, and on others who were not present.

During the last half of this group interview the main difficulty was to keep only one boy talking at a time. The boys repeatedly made statements which they were immediately called upon to prove, and which in order to support brought forth startling data for further investigation.

The frankness of the boys under strain of excitement was at times amazing. They seemed to forget entirely the presence of the interview leader. Problem parents, problem teachers, the police, escapades of certain boys' gangs, lack of community interest, all these

factors came into the foreground of the picture and furnished a wealth of materials for additional research.

Note-taking is a special problem at a group interview. In itself it may arouse strong inhibitions on the part of the members, and yet to take no notes is to forget vital points. As the conversation shuttles quickly back and forth between persons, vital material is disclosed that is not recalled afterward. One alternative is for the leader to pencil "catch words" on scraps of miscellaneous paper and another is to have an assistant act as a non-participant observer who notes down important points and keeps at least an informal record.

CHAPTER IX

PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

After all the data that are available from records, newspapers, legal and other documents, questionnaires, and from the purely objective study of a problem have been brought together, there is likely to remain undiscovered the main social forces such as the wishes and attitudes, and the meanings of conflict, of defeat, and of success to those who have experienced these realities. Until intimate human attitudes and values are brought to light no social problem is understood.

Attitudes and changes in them may best be secured by the personal interview. Meanings that are all-important may be sought in accounts of personal experiences, both direct and derivative or hearsay. The former relates to what has happened to a person; they are usually face-to-face experiences and are lasting in nature because of their emotional accompaniments. The latter refer to what a person has heard and has learned from reading newspapers and books. These are often clothed so colorfully by imagination or may be made so intense by feeling disturbances that they take on all the realism of primary experiences. Sometimes when they are transmitted to one in childhood or when they occur in personal crises at any period of one's life, they may be as influential as though they had actually happened to one himself.

Personal experience data, the product of the personal interview, are not final; they are simply materials to be scrutinized, criticized, discarded in part, classified, and interpreted. They are merely the materials for the test tube of examination. They are not conclusions, but the most important sources for getting at the heart of a social problem.

The personal interview is penetrating. It goes to the main sources,

namely, human experiences, which influence and mold personality and social relationships alike. It attempts to make these sources objective and amenable to scientific classification.

Interviewing is a social process.¹ It usually involves two persons in interaction. Interviewing may be viewed first as circular or perhaps as spiral response, and second as cumulative response. The first interpretation is basic and fundamental; the second is derivative and subsidiary.

Spiral response refers to interviewing as an interaction process. Interviewing is a series of interacting relationships usually between two people known as interviewer and interviewee. At every stage of the process the interviewer-interviewee situation changes; the reactions of both interviewer and interviewee tend to change from moment to moment according to each successive stimulus in the process.

Sometimes this process has been called the "circular response." In other words there is stimulus and response, with every response becoming a stimulus for another response. Interviewer and interviewee normally stimulate each other in new ways as the interview proceeds step by step.

Perhaps this process may more accurately be called a spiral response, because after each round of stimulus and response the interviewer and interviewee occupy a more advanced position of knowledge about each other and about the social situation under consideration than they did at the beginning of said round of interaction. After each stimulus-response step a new level of relationship is attained mutually by the interviewer and interviewee.

The circular or spiral response concept of interviewing does away with the old idea, namely, that the interviewer asks a set of predetermined questions and the interviewee answers these, one after another in order categorically. It supersedes the notion that the interviewee is a well from which a certain number of facts are to be pumped.

¹ The initial pages of this chapter represented a modified statement of materials published by the writer in *Sociology and Social Research*, XIX:70-75.

It challenges the belief that the interview is to be conducted chiefly by one party, namely, the interviewer. It holds that the interviewer is missing the point of his function if he formulates a set of questions, hunts up the interviewee, and obtains the answers.

The circular or spiral response principle of interviewing means that the interviewer does most of his work after the interview starts. It means that he will need to change his role and no longer act chiefly as a questioner. He will right about face, forsake his previously conceived primary role of a questioner for an entirely different one of being an associate and a joint-student with the interviewee. The resultant product will be of inestimably greater value than if the question-answer method is followed.

As a questioner he often puts the interviewee "on the spot," on the defensive, on the witness stand as it were. As an associate and a joint student he and the interviewee sit down to talk over an important situation together. Instead of asking questions he now makes leading remarks, may even draw upon his own experiences, tell "one on himself," and direct the interview more by contributions from his own experience than by interrogations.

Two problems must be met. One danger arises from asking questions, for by so doing the interviewee "will make his replies in terms of you and not in terms of the objective thing he really is doing."² The other danger is similar, but is brought about differently, namely: it is the danger of centering attention on the interviewer through bringing his own experiences into the picture too much. After all the interviewer needs to refer to himself chiefly as a means of getting the interview started, or of stimulating it in case it slows up. The interviewer's aim should be to make the interview "the interviewee's moment," and keep it there, and not to allow it to shift to the interviewer.³

² Eduard C. Lindeman, *Social Discovery*, (New York: Republic Publishing Company, 1924), p. 183.

³ As suggested by Dr. Pauline V. Young, University of Southern California, in an interview.

When the circular or spiral concept does away with the somewhat formal question-answer type of interviewer, it gives the interviewer the role of being "on his toes" every minute of the interview. He secures his clues as the interview moves along. He picks up new threads of thought and experience at every stimulus-response step. He becomes a collaborator. Together he and the interviewee in fine rapport work together to unravel tangled skeins of conflicts and problems. Hand in hand, or mind in mind, they may jointly search for truth regarding a mutually interesting problem. Paraphrasing a statement by Mary P. Follett, we may say: We must learn to think of interviewing not as a struggle but as an experiment in cooperation.⁴ It is important to observe the community principle in interviewing not of working "with individuals as individuals," but of working in terms of that higher social relationship which results when two persons begin an interview.⁵

Not only "answers" from the interviewee, but also his questions, may become highly important. Not his formal yes or no replies but his expressions of feeling, his gestures, his silent reactions assume primary importance. Not the number of his forced answers but the degree of his spontaneous participation is a criterion of a successful interview.⁶

According to this concept no formal set of questions is worked out before hand. As suggested by R. E. Park, the interview guide, however, may be developed.⁷ It provides for an analysis of the field in which the interview is to take place and of important angles or sub-phases to the problem being considered. Moreover, it is to be used in only the freest sort of way. It serves the purpose of keeping the interview within appropriate bounds.

If this interpretation of the interview as a social process, as an interacting process, as a process of stimulus and response, of give

⁴ *The New State* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1920), p. 97.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁶ See Stuart A. Queen, "Social Interaction in the Interview; an Experiment," *Social Forces*, VI:545-558, for a case study of the interaction process.

⁷ For several of these guides to be used in connection with obtaining life histories, see the following chapter.

and take, of two persons working together en rapport upon a given problem is accepted, then the whole terminology derived from earlier methods of interviewing needs to be revised. The terms interviewer and interviewee as involving an aggressive person probing into the affairs of a person on the defensive becomes grotesque. The term interview, however, may still be kept if we will accept its original meaning in the French, where it connoted "visiting each other" and "having a mutual insight." It is well to remember that an interview is "a specialized form of conversation" through which experiences and attitudes are exchanged, it is "a joint quest," not "an inquisition."⁸

Cumulative response is a term that refers to another phase of interviewing as an interaction process. Interviewing as a process depends a great deal upon how the interview is initiated. Its success or failure is often determined in its first moments. The initial contact that is made by the interviewer arouses either a favorable or an unfavorable response on the part of the interviewee. The favorable response makes easy an appropriate next step on the part of the interviewer. The second step is followed by another agreeable response from the interviewee, and the desirable state of rapport is well under way. The initial stage of the interview is over, and interviewer and interviewee fall into informal and natural conversation. The situation is now ideal for a successful interview.

On the other hand if the first move by the interviewer arouses a disagreeable and hence unfavorable response, almost anything that the interviewer may then do will be viewed with suspicion if not with incipient antagonism. If an interview starts in an antagonizing way, only the most skillful person can overtake it, turn it back upon itself, and redirect it in pleasant paths.

In other words, successful interviewing depends in part upon what may be called the cumulative response. An initial stimulus may be followed by either an agreeable or by a disagreeable response, and a

* Quoted from Goodwin Watson in *Interviews, Interviewers and Interviewing in Social Case Work* (New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1931), p. vi.

cumulative process of agreeableness and of rapport is set in motion, or a cumulative process of disagreeableness and of antagonism obtains momentum.

The practical questions arise: How may one start off an interview in the agreeable direction? And how may one avoid an accumulation of negative responses? A few suggestions may be tentatively ventured here.

A cautious, unhurried approach to the interviewee will prepare the interviewer with a knowledge of the likes and dislikes of the interviewee, and at the same time will prevent an abrupt and blunt attack upon the latter. If the interviewee is made to understand who the interviewer is, that he is reliable, and that he is possessed of high-minded, reliable motives, the beginning of an accumulation of favorable responses is already under way. If he is contacted when in a fine spirit, in a hopeful mood, away from duty and evesdroppers or curious onlookers, at a free time such as a luncheon hour, or when unharassed by distractions, an accumulation of agreeable responses may be easily set in motion. If the interviewer presents as attractive a personality as possible; if he is unaffected, unaggressive, sincere; and if he approaches the interviewee from the standpoint of the latter's special interests, his hobbies, and his hopes, a favorable cumulative response will be promoted. A little thought and a little care will suggest to the interviewer other phases of the initial contact that will favor him with all the rewards of the agreeable type of cumulative response mechanism.

The materials to be obtained by interviewing are manifold. It is important in interviewing to know at least in a general way what you are after, to have limits within which to operate, to have a sense of the relative values of materials, and to distinguish between basic urges, wishes, attitudes, and opinions. It is also necessary to seek not only facts, but more particularly the meanings of the facts to the persons concerned.

1. The easiest materials to obtain by interviewing are facts or data that are on the surface, ordinary information, names, dates, and so

on, that may be obtained from records and printed reports. On almost any subject of inquiry, some of this material will be found to be already collected and collated; other materials will need to be painstakingly gathered by persons who have had a statistical training. All these data will also constitute guides to further interviews.

2. In connection with the study of many social problems the gathering of personal opinions is important, for thereby an understanding of public opinion as well as of personal behavior is made possible. An opinion, as indicated in the preceding chapter, is an expression in conventionalized form that "falls into the worlds of language." It is more often a state of feelings and sentiments conventionalized than an expression of a person's own independent thinking. It is frequently composed of oft-repeated phrases, catchwords, shibboleths. It is what people "are willing to argue about." Taken in its group sense, it represents one of the main social forces.

3. More fundamental than opinions are attitudes, or established tendencies to act. Often a person is unaware of his readiness to act; the "readiness has developed unawares to the person himself." He acts, and at times is surprised at his own attitudes. If he has not yet acted regarding a particular fact or event, he doubtless has some attitudes of which he is not aware.

The interviewer must always keep on the alert to distinguish between opinions and attitudes, for the latter are more reliable than the former as representative of the essence of personality. They are more a part of the person and less the property of the group than opinions. Hence, in obtaining an inventory of attitudes the interviewer has a problem on hand that is as difficult as it is important.

Attitudes frequently originate in one's own experiences while opinions often arise out of hearsay reports. At any rate a person is usually more certain in his attitudes than in his opinions. Since they are more a part of himself than are his opinions, he defends or even fights for them more vigorously. Opinions are often defenses of one's attitudes.

When put to a test a person may be expected to act in line with his attitudes, but occasionally against his opinions. "An opinion may be merely a defense-reaction which through overemphasis usually falsifies consciously or unconsciously a man's real attitude."⁹ An opinion, however, is often a clue to an attitude, for it is the language in which a person "makes plausible and justifies to himself the tendency to act," that is, his attitude. Sometimes opinions are evidences of a person's lack of knowledge on a particular subject, and indicative of attitudes of bluffing, of dogmatism, or of generalizing too easily.

Attitudes determine whether or not new ideas will be admitted to one's thinking, and if so, they determine what will be held at bay. They are best discovered in the sequences of acts that constitute experiences and in the specific acts that follow experiences. Because of the importance of attitudes, the interviewer seeks their origins, the processes by which they are formed, as well as the processes by which they undergo change.

4. The importance of personal experiences in social research has already been made evident. They are not only the main sources of knowledge, the chief backgrounds of personal opinions and hence of public opinion, the leading creators of attitudes, but the stimulative source of feelings, emotions, and sentiments; they contain the origins of one's "first impressions," which are usually one's most lasting impressions; and they are the makers of one's beliefs and interpretations of life.

Social conflicts are often due either to personal differences, to misunderstandings regarding the nature of the facts, or to the meanings of the facts. Both the *facts* and the *interpretations* of them originate either in first-hand or second-hand personal experiences. A person often has only partial knowledge of the causes of his own actions and attitudes, because he has rarely analyzed his experiences and diagnosed his personality problems. Consequently, his explanations and interpretations may be sincere but worthless in explaining be-

⁹ Robert E. Park, an interview.

havior. A simple illustration of this point is found in the statement of a woman to an electrician that a fuse had burned out. When he asked her to describe what had happened, she repeatedly insisted that a fuse had burned out. Finally, he succeeded in getting her away from her interpretation of the matter to an actual description: "There was a flash near the end of the electric cord," indicating that the trouble was not in the fuse but in the cord. The "interpretation" was incorrect, but the detailed description of what happened, of the actual experience, cleared up the difficulty.

After the formal and the statistical in a piece of social research have been secured it is still necessary to examine personal experiences in order to understand the significance of the facts, and why they are defined or interpreted differently by different people. We do not act primarily according to the facts, but chiefly according to our experiences and to our interpretations of these.

Personal experiences may be viewed as the stuff out of which both personality and culture are made. They furnish both the stimuli and the problems of both personal and group life. Even though all other data have been secured, personal experience data are necessary in order to complete the picture of any human relations situation.

Even philosophy, it would seem is "more or less biographical, the reflective refinement out of the dross of a man's diurnal experiences."¹⁰ All the way from overt acts to the ideals, goals, and philosophy of personality and group life personal experiences are the keys to a complete understanding of conflicts and problems, personal and social.

A lady once remarked: "I hate the Japs; they lie and can't be trusted."¹¹ When asked why she made this statement, she promptly replied that she had had one Japanese work for her and that he had deceived her. When asked what other Japanese she had known personally, she replied, "None." She illustrated a common occurrence,

¹⁰ H. B. Alexander, *Nature and Human Nature* (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1923), p. 458.

¹¹ Reported by Robert E. Park.

namely, that of building an attitude toward a whole race on experiences with only one member of that race. This is one phase of the "particularistic fallacy,"¹² to which reference was made in Chapter I and to which people are so prone, that is, of generalizing from one or a few particular experiences. This is the *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* method of inference. The fallacy arises in considering each of the particular instances or data as a purely isolated phenomenon. Any single experience must be considered in relation to the total situation or situations of which it is a part.

In the instance cited in the preceding paragraph the interviewer did not stop with the woman's impassioned statement of dislike of all Japanese, but sought a full description of what had occurred. It seems that without notifying the woman the Japanese caretaker had suddenly left, even packing and removing his trunk while she was away. The woman jumped to the conclusion that lay on the surface, namely, that this Japanese was an unreliable person and hence a liar. Interviewing the Japanese brought out the fact that he had a wife and children living with Japanese friends fifty miles distant, that in living alone as a caretaker on the woman's ranch he had felt isolated and wanted to join his family, or at least wanted to work where he would be near them. But, is the evidence all in?

If so, the case is against the Japanese, for should he not have acted like a courageous person would have done, namely, have told his employer of his desire to return to his wife? The interviewer went still further, and found that the Japanese had been brought up in the rigid patriarchal tradition in Japan; that it is a sign of weakness for a man to be homesick; and hence, true to his early training, the Japanese caretaker could not admit the real reason for leaving the employment of the American woman, and not being willing to lie, had left without explanation. As a result he was accused of lying, the very sin that he thought he was avoiding. His whole act was caused by a sense of family loyalty. This example shows the im-

¹² W. I. Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909), p. 24.

portance of penetrating attitudes and opinions clear through to the experiences, not only of the interviewee but also of the persons with whom the interviewee has had dealings.

Every experience that interests the social research student always involves at least two persons, the interviewee and the person or persons with whom the interviewee has had contacts. In the complete sense of the term, therefore, an interview is never complete until it secures the experiences of both or of all parties in a given social situation. It includes two or more series of interviews with as many different persons.

In the woman's snap reaction regarding all Japanese we have "an emotional and biased judgment." This may be explained partly by the fact that she did not know Japanese and was not able "to enter imaginatively" into the nature of the Japanese mind, traditions, and experiences. She had not developed the quality represented by what Charles A. Ellwood calls "sympathetic introspection."¹³ This vacuum, as Robert E. Park has said, "was easily populated by all sorts of vague terrors which did not enter into her consciousness but still determined the tone of her experiences."¹⁴

The scientific interviewer distinguishes between usual and unusual experiences. In one sense, all experiences are unusual, and thus it may be better to distinguish between degrees in unusualness of experience.

Usual or common experiences by virtue of the fact that they are common to all are generally understood. Their whole nature may not be known, but people whose configurations of personality are similar understand one another when they have common experiences. But even the common experience may have an unusual feature, and hence become in small part at least an unusual experience.

Slightly unusual experiences fall into types, but of greatly unusual experiences there are no typical ones. Both typical and non-typical

¹³ Charles A. Ellwood, *Methods in Sociology* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1933), p. 74.

¹⁴ In an interview,

experiences are more or less equally important. The former denote trends, and the latter disclose new developments. The latter are generally most interesting, for they reveal more new human factors than do the less usual. As many of these may be analyzed as can be found, for they picture life in its most changeful phases and in its most original moments.

The *types of interviewing* vary with the different professions. Interviewing is as old as the human race. Moreover, it is as extensive as the leading professions of the day. The physician, the lawyer, the priest, the journalist, the detective, the social worker, the psychiatrist, and psychoanalyst make regular use of it. Their experiences with the personal interview method may be of value to the student of social research.

1. The *physician* interviews his patient in a more or less confidential way. His well-known professional ethics to the effect that he will not betray any secrets that the patient may tell him are highly significant. The patient may talk freely to the physician, because he knows that the latter will not gossip about him. Hence, he talks about himself with more freedom than he would to his close friends.

The patient, suffering from severe pain, is forced by the desire for relief to talk about himself with complete detail, with abandon, without regard to his own misdoings, without giving much consideration to personal status. Further, the physical examination is no respecter of personal status. Its revelations cannot be argued against, and thus, the patient is motivated to tell "the whole story" about himself.

The physician usually begins by asking the patient to describe his pains, their location, when they were felt first, how the patient's appetite is, and so on, gradually getting as complete a picture of the patient's experiences in connection with his difficulty as possible. He rarely takes notes, but by asking "leading" questions keeps the patient talking about himself until important clues are disclosed.

If the patient be too ill to speak concerning himself, then the patient's nurse or caretaker is asked to describe how the patient acts.

The physician rarely asks the patient or his caretaker to state an opinion regarding the nature of the disease; he primarily seeks descriptions of experiences and conditions. When there is a trained nurse, the physician looks at the patient's daily record sheet, and asks the nurse for a description of conditions but only infrequently for an opinion.

2. The *lawyer* also has a professional ethics of secrecy regarding what his clients tell about themselves. The client is in trouble, and often is in danger of losing social status or personal property. He may be lured on by greatly aroused emotions of injustice. Moreover, he knows, if he thinks at all broadly, that the lawyer's chances of winning the case are much better if he gives him all the data, even those facts which are damaging to himself.

When the witness tells his story in private the facts are likely to be given freely although with some circumlocution; but when he goes into court and is keenly aware of being examined, he falls back upon defense mechanisms. Since he is usually having the story "dragged out of him piecemeal, disjointedly, by a series of questions," he does not give a clear account. Lawyers are there representing the opposing side of the case to confuse him and to get him to contradict himself. Hence, "he is in the worst possible frame of mind to be examined—he is agitated, confused, and bewildered."¹⁵

The experiences of many writers indicate that a witness does best when (1) allowed "to use a narrative form," (2) when "least interrupted," (3) when encouraged "to follow a time order," and (4) when answers are not suggested by questions, but when questions and remarks are used to release narratives.

Persons display a variety of ways of "witnessing," and hence the examiner must change his methods accordingly.¹⁶ (1) The rambling

¹⁵ See John H. Wigmore, *The Principles of Judicial Proof* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, second edition, 1931), pp. 313 ff.

¹⁶ The first five types are summarized from John H. Wigmore, *op. cit.*, pp. 314-316, who quotes from William C. Robinson, *Forensic Oratory* (1893), and the remaining eight are summarized from John H. Wigmore, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-318, who quotes from Richard Harris, *Hints on Advocacy* (London: Stevens and Sons, American edition, 1892).

witness requires a close and a catechetical examination. (2) The dull and stupid witness calls for an inexhaustible patience on the part of the advocate. (3) The timid and self-conscious witness needs to have his attention taken off himself. (4) The bold and zealous witness is easily led astray by his own exaggerated egoism and is usually a witness of doubtful value from the standpoint of truth. (5) The hostile witness is of value only in indirect ways. By noting and analyzing his negative reactions one may gain insight into the problem under consideration. (6) The flippant witness is to be circumvented, to be treated as a "wild animal ready to tear you if she should get near enough." Her "frenzied exuberance" is to be encouraged, for thereby she will "give herself away." (7) The dogged witness is to be approached by "getting little answers to little questions," and by getting him loosened up and accustomed to talking. (8) The hesitating witness is to be allowed to take his time. His weighing and balancing of answers needs to be studied. Sometimes, he may hesitate simply in order to be "scrupulously accurate." (9) The nervous witness is to be dealt with gently and to be encouraged. (10) The humorous witness may have his good humor appealed to, and "the jolly good fellow" may relate valuable experiences freely. (11) The cunning witness is not so cunning as he thinks he is. He is to be met with cunning and needs to have his real character "shown up." (12) The canting hypocrite is likely to believe in "religion and his own goodness," and to approach a downright lie by shirking it and by using phrases that disclose his weaknesses. (13) The positive witness can be led into contradiction of what he or she has already said.

Examination and cross-examination in the courtroom by opposing lawyers have merit in bringing out hidden evidence, as well as demerits in confusing witnesses. A merit lies in the "discovery of truth by sudden and artful attacks upon an unwilling or dishonest witness." Such a procedure puts "a different aspect upon the facts than if time and opportunity were given to the interviewee to pre-

pare carefully and therefore disguise the true facts of the situation and relationships."¹⁷

3. Through the personal confession of the worshipper, the *priest* becomes an interviewer. Again trouble, in this case, sin, is worrying the "confessee." He seeks the father confessor and feels that the freer and fuller he makes his confession the more thoroughly his sins will be forgiven. Hence, he is likely to "blurt it all out," and to make his confession sudden and complete. He believes in the priest as a worthy confidant, more trustworthy in "keeping a secret," than closest friends. In order to help the individual to view the confession of sin more freely the priest may receive the confession through a curtain.

The sinner possesses a stronger urge to tell the whole truth even than does the patient or client. The patient must face a physical examination; the client, a court trial perhaps; and the sinner cannot escape the Eye which seest in secret and knoweth the innermost thoughts of man. Hence, he is moved to tell all.

It may not be inappropriate to refer here to the "impersonal confession," providing the term is understood to mean not a complete lack of personal relations but rather a short-cut intimacy and a confidential relation largely assumed. It sometimes occurs when a person is away from home and is feeling homesick, or isolated, and craves to have someone to talk to, or "to pour out his troubles to." He has broken relationships with some intimate friend or relative, and is seeking emotional relief. Perhaps he feels guilty and is seeking an impartial and disinterested court before which to justify himself.

A person "falls in" with someone on a train, or at some lounging place, and before he is aware of what he is doing, he is relating his personal troubles to a person who only a few moments before was a "perfect stranger." This stranger has shown a sympathetic interest, and yet enough anonymity exists so that the talker's defense mechan-

¹⁷ From statement by Arthur E. Briggs, quoted by Pauline V. Young, *Interviewing in Social Work* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1935), p. 10.

isms are not aroused. The talker does not expect that the stranger will contact the former's circle of personal friends. Hence, the conversation may take on "impersonal confession" traits. In this way the talker secures "relief of mind" without losing status within his group "at home." In fact, he may even picture himself as a martyr and see a martyr's halo around his head as he proceeds to unravel his experiences to the casual acquaintance or stranger.

I remember the case of a "successful" business man who told me the story of his marital problems one night on the rear platform of an observation car. We had met the night before and talked of fishing. He made a very "complete statement," although I could scarcely be termed an "intimate." The next afternoon his wife and I were sitting together in almost the same place. She said: "Jim never talked to anyone; she couldn't imagine what we found to talk about till one-thirty." I said "fishing and politics," and added "that your husband seemed to be a great fisherman." She replied that "he was; he'd go off on long trips two or three times a year; but she wouldn't go — she hated fishing; he just couldn't seem to *understand her*," and in a little while she made her confession. I felt somewhat as I imagine a priest feels—but I had learned a good deal of sociology.¹⁸

4. The *journalist* is an interviewer, who is handicapped because usually he is not sent for, as is a doctor, lawyer, or priest. He must make his own *entree* into the interviewee's personal life. Often he must overtake persons who are shunning him, and secure a "story" from them against their wishes. As the symbol of publicity he is evaded by many types of people, such as the timid and the guilty. Interviewing by the journalist is the most subtle and the most fascinating of all kinds of news gathering, and the most difficult.¹⁹

Both the journalist's difficulties and his desire for news are urgent and so he often goes to extreme lengths in forcing an interview, even using threats. Competition with the reporters of other newspapers stimulates him to make new and ingenious attempts to secure a successful interview. Sometimes he may try to make the interviewee angry in order to get him to give away important secrets unintentionally and impulsively in self-defense. He may assume the role of

¹⁸ Read Bain, "The Impersonal Confession and Social Research," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, IX:359.

¹⁹ Harrington and Frankenberg, *Essentials in Journalism* (New York: Ginn and Company, 1912), p. 119.

a host, thus placing the interviewee under obligations to him. At any rate his time is short and the urge for news is great. In consequence, he capitalizes both time and acquaintance to the limit. "He frames the questions and keeps the whole matter in his own hands." Moreover, he has "a nose for news," and manifests "a quick perception of news values in even chance remarks."²⁰

5. The *detective* is the chief expert in interviewing people who do not want to be interviewed. He resorts to all types of deception in order to attain his ends. In the most unexpected ways he appears on the scene—as a lucky fisherman in the mountains, in the guise of "a prominent citizen" at a banquet, or even a kind stranger doing a friendly deed. He trails the "subject" for miles, hundreds of miles, and when the latter feels that he is safe from pursuit and all his defense mechanisms are relaxed the detective, disguised, appears as an old farmer, a dancing partner, or a helpless cripple, and innocently obtains the long-sought-for interview.²¹

Commissioner G. S. Dougherty in describing what he calls "the humane third degree," states that he does not rely on threats, piling up charges against the subject, or on "rough methods" and thus antagonizing the subject and making him stubborn, but that he tries to create an atmosphere of confidence on the part of the subject in him, the detective. He does this by being thoroughly human, by giving the suspect status, and even getting him to experience a sense of pride in confessing.²²

6. Of all interviewers the *social worker* has much in common with the student of social research. Both are dealing with social problems, with conflict situations, with individuals as persons, with the nature of social stimuli and responses. The social worker has emphasized "the first interview."²³ It is suggested by Mary E. Rich-

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

²¹ See G. S. Dougherty, *The Criminal as a Human Being* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1924), Ch. II.

²² G. S. Dougherty, *op. cit.*, pp. 134 ff.

²³ Mary E. Richmond, *Social Diagnosis* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1917), Ch. VI.

mond that the client's home is the best place in which to hold the first interview. Here the client feels most at ease and here are opportunities to consider the client in relation to his natural surroundings. This conclusion overlooks the fact, however, that the home surroundings are full of objects that act as inhibiting stimuli and prevent "a free and full confession." Children or elders may be going in and out, or standing outside listening, and thus causing the client to make guarded statements. Likewise, the social worker's office will arouse inhibitions in the client's mind.

The social worker is beginning to distinguish between methods of interviewing and interviewing as a process, and to become aware of the need for understanding the nature of the process of interviewing as a necessary qualification for conducting an interview; he is focusing attention on studying the physical setting of the interview, on the kinds of persons the interviewer and the interviewee are, and on what each knows about the other.²⁴ He is also becoming aware that he has at hand a large store of unwritten information about people and the community, and that if such information as all case workers possess could be pooled, even in a given city, the value to research and practical work would be surprising.²⁵

Four objects of the first interviews are suggested by Mary E. Richmond. They are as follows: (1) "To give the client a fair and patient hearing"; (2) "to establish a sympathetic mutual understanding"; (3) "to secure clues to whatever other sources of information will give a deeper insight into the difficulties of his situation and their possible solutions"; and (4) "to begin even at this early stage the slow process of developing self-help and self-reliance, though only by the tonic influence which an understanding spirit always exerts, and with the realization that later the client's own level of behavior will have to be sought, found and respected."²⁶

²⁴ Bradley Buell, "Interviews, Interviewers, and Interviewing," *The Family*, VI:86-90.

²⁵ Corinne A. Sherman, "The Case Worker and Social Research," *The Family*, VI:101.

²⁶ Mary E. Richmond, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

The objectives of the social work interview as given by Dr. Bessie A. McClenahan are as follows:

- (1) To discover the immediate needs and the social problems of the client.
- (2) To establish mutual understanding between the social case worker and client.
- (3) To win the confidence of client.
- (4) To give the client a feeling of security in the fact that someone is interested in him personally; and a sense of being treated as a person who has a definite social place.
- (5) To give a client opportunity for emotional release in the telling of his story; to help him arrive at a clearer appreciation of his own situation; to gain insight into his problems and some of the causal factors related to them.
- (6) To give the client an understanding of the services which he may expect from the agency which the worker represents. . . .
- (7) To lay a basis in the client's attitudes to help him meet future problems.
- (8) To relieve immediate needs . . . and to initiate efforts to solve problems.
- (9) To give client something definite to do which he sees and feels will help to improve his situation.
- (10) To secure clues to various other sources.
- (11) To protect the client against a feeling of self-humiliation.
- (12) To close the interview in such fashion that the client feels more hopeful and convinced that it is worthwhile to struggle, and that, figuratively speaking, the door is left open for the visitor's return.²⁷

Dr. Ernest R. Mowrer distinguishes between three kinds of interviews in the field of social work: (1) the diagnostic interview determines "what are the symptoms requisite for treatment of the situation"; (2) the research interview "obtains data for analysis of the situation in terms of fundamental principles"; and (3) the treatment interview, which has for its purpose the giving of treatment by securing a change of attitudes in the client.²⁸

The social worker has developed what has been called "the listening interview." Listening is a fine art in interviewing.²⁹ By listening

²⁷ Bessie A. McClenahan, *Social Case Work, Theory and Practice* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1936, Revised Edition), p. 40.

²⁸ Ernest R. Mowrer, *Domestic Discord* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928), pp. 54 ff.

²⁹ Nannie E. Diehl and R. S. Wilson, "Can Listening Become a Case Work Art?" *The Family*, XIV:100.

the interviewer is not merely passive. Listening "both invites and respects disclosures."³⁰ By one's expressions as a listener one encourages or discourages the interviewee to continue. The latter may watch closely the facial expressions of the interviewer, and modify his remarks accordingly.

As Clifford R. Shaw suggests in his studies of delinquency the main idea in interviewing is to secure "the boy's own story." In securing the delinquent's own story "the aim is three-fold": (1) to obtain "the point of view of the delinquent"; (2) to get a picture of "the social and cultural situation to which the delinquent is responsive"; and (3) to obtain "the sequence of past experiences and situations in the life of the delinquent."³¹

7. The *psychiatrist* also has much to offer by way of technique of interviewing. It is his business to examine the hidden springs of action. Moreover, he brings to bear upon his problems a modern psychological training.

Dr. Adolf Meyer speaks of the necessity of "perfect privacy," the avoidance of "self-humiliation" by the patient, and of unnecessary argument.

The psychiatrist suggests letting a patient talk "on and on." The getting off the point, the garrulity and so on, throw light on the psychology of the patient's mind and help the interviewer to evaluate and interpret the testimony. It is not so much what the interviewee says but the way in which he says it which is important.

A successful opening for an interview is suggested by Dr. William Healy from his experience in meeting parents of delinquent boys. He would begin by arousing reassurance and the spirit of cooperation: "Well, you people do seem to have a difficult affair on your hands with this boy. Let's sit down and talk it all over together and study it out together."³² Then he inquires about how the problem

³⁰ *Loc. cit.*

³¹ Clifford R. Shaw, *The Jack-Roller* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930), p. 3.

³² William Healy, *The Individual Delinquent* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1914), p. 35.

originated and how it developed. In this way the interviewee or interviewees are encouraged to describe the situation.

8. The *psychoanalyst* specializes in getting at data concealed beneath the threshold of the conscious. He is dealing with the patient's mental life and trying to find out things about the patient which he does not know about himself. He is an expert in one of the subtle phases of interviewing, whose procedure may at times approximate that of the hypnotist.

Since the patient is often in a subnormal mental state, it is easy for a psychoanalyst to "dominate" him and make the latter a sort of mental slave, extracting from him almost any type of confession that the sensitive patient feels is expected.

The psychoanalyst specializes in drawing out from the patient his "forgotten" childhood experiences by subtle forms of suggestion. In getting an individual to tell about his emotional strains, dreams involving sex factors, and his inmost thoughts, the specialist first gets the patient's complete confidence, and then by suggesting or even imagining happenings, often succeeds in obtaining a complete story. By unravelling a patient's experiences and feelings the specialist in this field becomes an expert in making objective what goes on in what to most individuals is the most inner sanctum of their personalities. Sometimes the specialist is aided by the terrifying fears which haunt the patient's mental life. At any rate the psychiatrists and psychoanalysts secure from their patients what a doctor or lawyers ordinarily does not get, and what a priest may only approximate, a picture of innermost feelings and thoughts.

The *securing of mental release* is the key to research interviewing. The most common problem in interviewing is that of overcoming the inhibitions, due to whatever cause, of the interviewee. Sometimes the assurance that the materials will be treated impersonally and that substitute names for persons and places will be used will produce the necessary responses. The reticence and inhibitions of an immigrant interviewee, for instance, may be due to lack of understanding of the purposes of the interview, to a deep-seated suspicion of all persons

who question him, or to stubbornness. Sometimes the interviewer may find that the previous residences of the interviewee will give clues to some the latter's significant experiences, and serve as an adequate basis for opening an important interview. Again, the friends that an interviewee has, the newspapers that he reads, the ways in which he spends his leisure time are indexes to his experiences and to openings for valuable interviews.

Then, there is the person who is not interested in social problems, who does not want to express an opinion at all, who feels that his own experiences are insignificant, and who, in short, does not want to be interviewed. There is the person who feels that a statement of his experiences would be "too personal," and who has a resultant tendency to deal in "glittering generalities" and to refrain carefully from anything of a personal experience nature.

An occupational psychosis is often a controlling factor. Executives and those accustomed to getting others to give personal data often decline to relate their own experiences. The occupational habit of getting others to do things hinders free response on the part of the executive himself. The most difficult persons to get any written materials from often are interviewers. They can get others to give materials, but will not relate anything about themselves. The "intellectual tightwad" is one of the most difficult persons to interview.

Sometimes the personalities of the interviewee and the interviewer clash. When the former turns against the latter it is difficult to obtain results. Until our knowledge of the nature of personality becomes greatly increased the adjustment of clashing personalities will remain a problem.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion it will be observed that securing mental release means to get the interviewee to talk. Not only that, it involves getting him to talk freely, naturally, accurately about his experiences. It means stimulating him to talk without holding back anything, even though some statements reflect upon his own judgment and even upon his motives and character. It calls for the highest type of mental skill and personal integrity.

The *mechanisms* of mental release are vital aspects of interviewing. In securing mental release there are certain mechanisms which may be "touched off" as it were. The principle of mechanical discharge may be illustrated in five ways. First, there is the *naive type of habit mechanism*. Every person at times speaks naively and simply. What he is stimulated to say seems entirely natural and normal, and so he speaks frankly without being aware of it. As informal and as natural a conversation in every particular as possible is ideal for effective interviewing.

To urge the interviewee to be frank, or to overurge him is inhibiting. It is better for the interviewer to *create the atmosphere of frankness* rather than to urge frankness. To be entirely worthy of confidence opens up social contacts freely and leads to successful interviewing. Actual trustworthiness creates an atmosphere that is recognizable and which breaks even "stranger" barriers. Each conversation has its own natural course. An immigrant, for example, is usually willing to talk freely about the difficulties he has faced in getting settled in a country that is new to him. Usually he has many naive mechanisms which can be appealed to easily. Often the vocational approach is successful, for most persons can and are willing to talk "shop" more than anything else. Most everyone would like a better position than he has now, and is seeking new opportunities. Successful interviewing discharges the interviewee's tensions, and gives him a chance to relieve his mind. Moreover, it avoids creating tensions, for then the feelings rise and inhibitions operate. The more naive the interviewer the more satisfactory the results, even when one is interviewing a naive person.

Freedom and completeness in the data can be secured, finally, only upon the basis of impersonal and disinterested attitudes on the part of the investigator. Sympathetic insight is effective when it is in the demeanor rather than in the stating of it to the subject. I get my best results and maintain rapport when I show a certain reticence. Prying at the person during the interview is to inject suspicion and distrust into the situation. We must trust the mechanism of catharsis and the questionnaire as its stimulus to secure the data. The purpose of the interview is to promote rapport, to secure a willingness and

desire to write, and to set a situation in which, under proper conditions, catharsis can take place.³³

Second, there is *an egotistical type of mechanism*, which, when released, will open the flood-gates of experience. Nearly everyone feels pleasant when his ego is appealed to, and falls before an increasing sense of personal importance. An exaggerated interest in one's experiences usually releases experiences that ordinarily would not be told.

Sometimes the interviewee needs to be doubted, to be challenged, and then in order to maintain status, to save his pride, he will relate valuable experiences. A similar method has already been described with reference to the group interview, in the preceding chapter.

When a boy won't answer, I tell him that I want to learn about boys, and then ask, "How in the world can I learn about boys if boys won't tell me anything?" and that usually "brings them across." Sometimes I say, "I have come for information," or "I have to get hints and pointers."³⁴

If an interviewer knows that the interviewee is deliberately withholding important data for fear of loss of status, or of implicating other persons, it may be necessary for the former to indicate that he knows some of the facts that the latter is withholding, and to ask him to account for them. The interviewee is likely to be startled into a complete release of important data.

Through spite, and appeal to pride, or as a result of anger, a person may blurt out "just what he thinks," and disclose facts as readily as though he were talking to an intimate friend. While these cases are exceptional and are likely to be highly colored by distorting emotional reactions, they may release a flood of valuable data.

Third, there is *the confessional type of mechanism*, whose release brings relief. The desire "to tell someone," whether an intimate friend or a stranger who probably will never cross one's path again, is often strong. Continued repression and not necessarily a sense of guilt is sufficient to make a confession in the psychological sense necessary and wholesome.

³³ E. T. Krueger, "The Technique of Securing Life History Documents," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, IX:296, 297.

³⁴ Dr. Pauline V. Young, an interviewer in the Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles, 1925.

Confessions are ordinarily made to an intimate acquaintance, as a rule. To perfect strangers one may say little; to casual acquaintances not much more, unless a special feeling of rapport has been set up; but to intimates, one may make a complete statement. For example, a court record may show that the cause for which a divorce has been granted was "desertion" or "mistreatment." A questionnaire submitted to both parties concerned would not likely shed any additional light on the situation. Friends may obtain some of the facts, but certain intimates receive the details.

Another exception is that indicated by "the impersonal confession," but in such cases a degree of fellow feeling, and of being en rapport has been established. In the case of the man riding on the observation car who told Mr. Bain his family troubles, the "confession,"³⁵ had been preceded by talking about fishing and other interesting matters, until a common feeling combined with a feeling of anonymity had been developed. Confessions of a stranger to perfect stranger are rare except as an incipient fellow understanding is aroused. It is true, however, that one will confess more when under the stimuli of impersonal disinterestedness than he will under the stimuli of competitive intimacy. In fact, one's mental tension may become so great and the inhibitions aroused by one's intimates so strong that he will gladly "tell the whole thing" in a somewhat "impersonal and disinterested" interview.³⁶ In other words, when one gets away from his primary group relationship, e.g., his family, into a secondary group relationship, he is no longer subject to all his normal inhibitions.

In the confessional document the sequence begins with (a) the situation which interferes with the satisfaction of wishes; (b) shows a resulting mental conflict which takes the form of restlessness, fear, or dread, and is followed by (c) a feeling of isolation as self-consciousness arises in the form of inferiority and is attended by contrasts with other persons, and ends in (d) a dominant attitude which defined behavior. This a, b, c, d, sequence is to be thought of as an automatic one. It may be mechanically thought of as the mechanism of the suppressed wish.³⁷

³⁵ *Supra.*

³⁶ See E. T. Krueger, *op. cit.*, *Journal of Applied Sociology*, IX:296 ff.

³⁷ E. T. Krueger, *op. cit.*, *Journal of Applied Sociology*, IX:200.

Fourth, there is *the purely scientific type of mechanism* indicating the willingness to tell all for the sake of truth and science by one who takes an objective viewpoint concerning himself, who scorns much of the conventional snap judgments of right and wrong, and who is willing to sacrifice himself for the sake of science.

It might be added that securing mental releases renders therapeutic service. It is important that tensions not be allowed to persist for a life time, for they create "dispositional traits or reaction patterns."

Fifth, there is *the sophisticated type of mechanism* whose release is the most difficult of all to secure. Some persons are "hard-boiled" as far as being interviewed is concerned.

I always leave lawyers and police until the last in my interviewing work. Both have many deliberately built up and impenetrable defense mechanisms. The only way to handle either is to take them on a fishing expedition. In other words, there are some people who are always on their guard—until you get them clear away from all the stimuli of their daily environment.³⁸

The *principles of procedure* in interviewing may now be summarized. Enough experiences in interviewing have been reported from a range of angles to justify the formulation of several principles of procedure that the interviewer may well observe. In the pages that follow, eight of these principles will be suggested, namely: (1) consideration, (2) evaluation, (3) gradation, (4) identification, (5) reference, (6) indirect interrogation, (7) adequate information, and (8) discrimination.

1. The principle of *consideration* requires that the interviewer has a sympathetic understanding of the interviewee, and particularly of his peculiarities and special experiences, and that these be treated respectfully.

Frequently the interviewee feels that I have asked something too personal. Then I have to back up and secure his confidence all over again. Hence I have learned never to overplay my hand.³⁹

"I never argue with an interviewee," is common testimony. Argument arouses defense reactions and dangerous inhibitions. Data of personal delicacy may be led up to, but not directly sought.

³⁸ From field notes, Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey, 1923-1925.

³⁹ From Dr. Pauline V. Young, an interviewer in the Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles, 1925.

The interviewer who always manages to be expected, who makes appointments, finds that the plan not only saves a great deal of time for himself, but prevents him from "breaking in" upon the interviewee in inopportune or even embarrassing moments. It pays to be considerate of the interviewee's personal plans.

Often the busy person says that he can give only ten minutes or even "a minute," but even that is gladly accepted. The interviewer must rely on his ability to arouse the interviewee's interest. After the latter becomes interested he may give an hour, urging the interviewer not to go.

Consideration for an interviewee's feelings and possible inhibitions relates to place and number of persons present. It has already been noted that the interviewee's home is usually unsatisfactory, for it contains inhibitory symbols. The interviewer's office is poor, because of its official implications. Sometimes only the freedom of vacation camp will suffice. An interview is best conducted when only the two parties concerned are present.

A friend of the interviewee joined us, but at once the attitude of the latter changed. He became general and less personal. He lost his freedom in speaking.⁴⁰

Yesterday I had an interview arranged but a third party joined us and I waited a half hour for him to go. I did not feel free to start the interview, for it seemed that the presence of the third party and the things for which he stood would hinder the interviewee from giving a complete personal statement. So, rather than have an important interview spoiled, I gave it up entirely for that trip and decided to try again.⁴¹

2. The principle of *evaluation* may be illustrated in the case of the too talkative interviewee, who "rambles on and off," but mostly off the subject. Of course he must be brought back to the main field without antagonizing him.

I got an interviewee started the other day, and I could not stop him. He started off on a long line of reminiscences which soon left our race relations subject entirely. Whenever I could get a question in edgewise, I brought him back to the subject, but he would soon be off in another direction that had no connection with our main theme. I spend two and one-half hours and obtained almost no materials. What can I do?⁴²

⁴⁰ From field notes, Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey, 1923-1925.

⁴¹ *Loc. cit.*

⁴² *Loc. cit.*

Another interviewer reports that she had lost an afternoon in listening to a garrulous old man, but that she kept cool and went back the next day and was entirely successful. The first day the interviewee had "talked himself out," and the second day he gave an account of the experiences that were being sought. Another research reporter says that even when a person is talking "off" the subject he is often able to learn a great deal.

3. The principle of *gradation*, or gradual approach, must be observed, otherwise the interviewee will react in feelings if not in words as follows: What are you here for? Why are you interested in me so suddenly? An interviewer of boys was greeted thus: "What are you doing here, you old hookey cop?" And another as follows: "Who told you to help me anyway?"

I usually talk first and then ask questions. As a rule I begin by asking something not very important. As the interview proceeds, I usually add a remark now and then, which tends to release new memory mechanisms.⁴³

"I usually come as a friend, or from a friend of the interviewee," says an interviewer. "I never come in an official capacity if I can help it." In the Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles cards of introduction were printed, but their use was soon discarded. The term "Survey" aroused deadly suspicions and inhibitions.

"Give me your life history," said a crude interviewer to a Japanese, who did not respond. Another interviewer with a pencil and paper in hand began with the first words of the interviewee to take down everything that was said, but soon found the interview ended. "I came from the Race Relations Survey," said another interviewer, and wondered why the interview was a failure, not recognizing that the mention of the Survey was inhibiting to any one who did not understand it. The difficulty was partly in mentioning the Survey, and partly in the fact that the interviewer did not have full prestige in the eyes of the interviewee.

4. The principle of *identification*, whereby interviewee develops a fellow feeling for interviewer, is widely useful. Sometimes an in-

⁴³ Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles, 1925.

interviewer may secure the desired data by confessing something about himself, by telling of his own misconduct and thus identifying his experiences with those of the interviewee. "On occasion I tell something very bad against myself, and that brings results." Again, the interviewer after telling some of his own experiences may ask: "How do those fit in with your experiences?"⁴⁴

As the boy "sensed" that I had experiences and anxieties similar to his own, he "loosened up" and talked "like a blue streak," amazing me beyond expectation, for I thought him stupid and taciturn.⁴⁵

This sometimes has been called the subjective method of securing an interview. It is indirect, sympathetic, and establishes that confidence born of mutual experience.

5. A related principle is that of *reference*. By connecting himself with some prominent person in good standing in the eyes of the interviewee, the interviewer achieves prestige and secures the desired *entree*.

If I could mention someone "higher up" and indicate that I had been at his home or dined with him, that would give me prestige at once.⁴⁶

The wider the experience of a person the more likely will he succeed in arousing in the interviewee a sense of identification. A Race Relations interviewer seeing three Hindus standing in front of a store in an Imperial Valley town stepped up to them and addressed them in Hindustani. They were agreeably surprised, and smiling, asked: "Where did you learn Hindustani?" The interviewer replied: "In India," whereupon an interview of three hours followed.⁴⁷

6. The principle of *indirect interrogation* regulates the trend that personal interviews may take. The best interviewer asks the fewest direct questions. He "starts off" the interviewee by "chance remarks" and comments. Moreover, these are interposed when the conversation of the interviewee becomes irrelevant. Often, a mere phrase, "Excuse me, but I don't understand what you said a moment ago about——," will suffice.

⁴⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁴⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁴⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁴⁷ Reported by Dr. William C. Smith.

In holding an interview, it is important that the interviewer repeatedly safeguard himself from his own biases and preconceived notions. "All of us notice the things that we are interested in," and overlook different materials from the same interviews. It is essential, therefore, that the interviewer protect himself against that which he expects to see and hear. The principle of exploration extends even to one's attitude as to what is interesting or uninteresting. It is necessary to use both the most general type of question as well as specific questions. In fact, it is wise not to ask questions but to make remarks which will keep the interviewee talking about anything within the field of study. The interviewer who makes out his questions first and then, just a block before he arrives, goes over them again "so that when I reach the interviewee I know just what I want to find out," illustrates a commendable degree of preparedness, but also an important weakness. If one knows too definitely what he is going after, he may miss a number of valuable points.

The phrasing of one's questions brings out variations in answers. A study of the logic of questioning will prevent one from falling into needless errors. The following analysis was developed in connection with Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey but was suggested by G. M. Whipple's "The Obtaining of Information; Psychology of Information and Report," *Psychological Bulletin*, XV.

In the first place, there is the *expectative* question, that is, the one which implies an expected answer, which suggests its own answer. For example: "You were disappointed in the United States when you first arrived, weren't you?" An immigrant who does not fully grasp a question will likely answer "Yes," out of sheer human courtesy, and thus may give a wrong impression. At least he may be stimulated to exaggerate in his own mind the implication of an expectative question.

There is the *disjunctive* question: "Do you like or dislike Americans?" As a matter of fact, there is a third possibility which is left entirely in the background, namely, a possible neutral feeling.

The *implicative* question asks, "How was the exploiter dressed?"

when the man in question was not necessarily an exploiter at all. This is the type of question that Iago used when he wished to imply to Othello that Desdemona and Cassio were unfaithful to Othello.

The *indeterminate* question gives the one interrogated an unbiased opportunity to answer, and hence it is the best. "How do you like working in the steel mills?" The answer may be favorable, unfavorable, or any shade in between, and leaves a full measure of judgment to the questionee.

It is essential not to be bent overmuch on interrogation, and thus direct the interview to the oversight of unanticipated data. Rich mines of experiences are often pocketed in places that questioning will not likely pierce. "At the most unexpected moments, and when I am anticipating least, I often secure the most valuable materials."

"I am always watching for leads," that is, as the interview proceeds, the undercurrents of the interviewee's statements are noted. What sounds most insignificant is often fraught with precious suggestions. "I watch for 'leads' and then more 'leads,'" is a statement that discloses the exploring attitude of interviewing and implies that the way a person tells his experiences is fraught with tell-tale data.

7. The principle of *adequate information* means that from the interviewee's viewpoints the remarks and questions of the interviewer shall be intelligent. That is to say, the letter must not disclose any ignorance about the elemental phases of the field concerning which he is conducting the interview. A young girl assured an interviewer that she was a boy, and upon being reprimanded, replied: "It's all right to give dumb answers to dumb questions."⁴⁸

A Survey investigator waited on me, showed a great interest in me, but soon his questions and comments showed that he knew little about the subject he was talking on. I concluded that his interest in me was false, so I stopped talking.

I greeted him with great respect. I thought he was a learned gentleman, but when in conversation he indicated that he didn't know any of the prominent men in my country and seemed so provincial I was no longer awe-struck. I was utterly disappointed and concluded not to talk.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ *The New Yorker*, New York, January 14, 1933, p. 13.

⁴⁹ From field notes, Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey.

8. The principles of *discrimination* must be continually invoked. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the interviewee's past experiences and his prejudices. It is more difficult usually to get him to make these discriminations. Moreover, he does not always distinguish between what he has learned in a first-hand way and that which he has received second-hand.

In order to be accepted as authentic the results of an interview require some kind of testing regarding their accuracy. Sometimes a cross-examination of the interviewee is sufficient. Sometimes the problem can be met by interviewing other persons who are involved.

Where interviewees contradict each other it is necessary to examine antecedent happenings and to approach the situation from one new angle after another until the results fall into similar explanations and classifications. Occasionally, it is necessary to bide one's time, and on a later occasion, to start all over again.

It is important to distinguish between the ordinary and conventional reaction of explaining one's conduct in terms of social approval and disapproval, of justifying one's self, and the social-psychological explanations, namely, in descriptive terms of basic motives and attitudes and of "the social situations which call these attitudes into existence." In the latter connection lie the subtlest inhibitions.

Another problem is found in the errors which people unintentionally make in remembering past experience narratives. These discrepancies are often significant in themselves, for they may account for many misunderstandings.

To the student of social attitudes erroneous remembering is as significant as correct remembering, for a distorted remembrance influences a person's current opinion just as truly as an exact remembrance. If it includes a feeling of injustice, a great sorrow, a piece of good fortune, or any striking emotional experience, the greater the distortion is likely to be, and the more seriously one's current opinions are affected. While the distortion may not disclose anything regarding the nature of one's deepest attitudes, "it reveals something

of the intensity of them." Hence the distortion and the errors of remembering may be far more important than the original experience itself.

It is not unprejudiced statements that the interviewer seeks. He wants to learn what the prejudiced reactions of people are which "reveal at once the mind of the individual and the mores of the group."⁵⁰ Any statement, true or false, that is believed by a number of people is significant. It is "an index to the state of mind of the group in which it circulates, particularly if it circulates without contradiction."⁵¹

Note-taking is an important phase of interviewing. A system for taking and for writing notes is essential. This includes sheets of paper of uniform size, perhaps four by six inches or five by seven. A definite method must be followed with reference to standard information for each of these sheets of paper. The minimum items for each sheet are as follows: (1) the date, (2) the name of the person interviewed, (3) the place or location of the interview, (4) the subject matter of the interview, and (5) the page of the written interview. Unrelated items should go on separate sheets, so that the sheets may be rearranged as the need requires.⁵²

If the notes are very casual or based on catchwords that are temporarily remembered, then it is exceedingly important that they be written up immediately. Psychological experiments show that the forgetting curve drops very rapidly during the first hours that follow ordinary experiences. The intervention of even an hour of different experiences will dull one's remembrance of an interview. Hence after an interview is completed, the very first thing to do by all odds is to find a quiet spot and write up one's notes in detail and in full.

The taking of full notes during a research interview is often to be avoided. The taking of notes in the presence of the interviewee may sidetrack the free expression of his reactions.

⁵⁰ Robert E. Park, "Field Studies in Americanization," (Berkeley, California: University of California Correspondence Courses, 1925), Assignment 1, p. 4.

⁵¹ *Loc. cit.*

⁵² Cf. Beatrice Webb, *My Apprenticeship* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1926), pp. 412-419.

I do as the newspaper reporters, that is, have an old stub of a pencil handy and maybe a torn envelope and carelessly and without effort set down a catchword now and then. I have noticed that a newspaper man in interviewing me may toy with his pencil on a scrap of paper making marks aimlessly until I have forgotten about his pencil and paper, and then observed him write down phrases from my conversation.⁵³

Note-taking conspicuously done is a restraining influence on the interviewee. On the other hand, no note-taking may mean that valuable hints will be lost entirely. "Jottings" taken casually, however, appear to be a frequent compromise, providing the interviewer will write out his report as soon after the interview is ended as possible. In certain instances the interviewee may agree to write out portions of his experiences, but even so he will rarely include all that he states orally. He rarely writes with the freedom that he speaks when talking confidentially. He cannot write as fast as he can talk, and hence important omissions are likely to occur. His emotional reactions will rarely be included in the written report.

An interviewer reports that she does not take notes in the presence of the interviewee but makes one exception, namely, when historical facts are mentioned. "I sometimes say, 'Wait a minute. Let me get that down,' and the interviewee feels pleased to think that he can instruct me and that the history of his people is so important that I want to get it."⁵⁴

Sometimes the first interview ends in "a suspended interview."⁵⁵ After an interview has come to a standstill and it seems best to terminate it, the interviewer may raise two or three questions with the suggestion that the interviewee think about them for a time. These questions leave the first interview "suspended" and open the way to a second interview.

Second and third interviews are often essential. A second and third interview are important because the interviewee may be in a different frame of mind on these occasions and may relate items

⁵³ From field notes, Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey.

⁵⁴ From Dr. Pauline V. Young, interviewer in the Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles, 1925.

⁵⁵ Pauline V. Young, *The Art and Science of Interviewing* (Los Angeles: Western Educational Service, 1934), mimeographed edition, p. 153.

which did not occur to him the first time, and in a way throw new light on the problems in hand. In the second or third interview a person speaks from the standpoint of giving the matter under consideration some thought. The reactions are more thoughtful when compared with the more spontaneous reactions of the first interview. One type of reaction without the other is incomplete. However, rationalizations are more likely to enter into the second and later interviews than in the first.

I go over my data as soon after an interview is concluded as I can, and always new questions occur to me. I arrange a second interview, and even a third, and from these, often obtain more bed-rock materials than from the first.⁵⁶

I often conduct the second interview through the mails. In this way the interviewee sends me a carefully written statement which I use in conjunction with the first free impulsive reactions. They serve as a check upon my personal reports of the first interview.⁵⁷

"When is an interview complete?" asks a student. An interview should be followed by other interviews as long as they enable one to discover new factors. Keep on interviewing, whether interviewing one person or a whole group, until little new or different appears. Data tend to fall into types, but types are rarely typical of the whole social situation. As long as interviewing brings out new types of experiences, or even new experiences, it is not wholly complete.

Nine questions which an interviewer may ask himself regarding an interview have been suggested by Dr. Pauline V. Young. Six of these that are given as useful to the social worker may also be valuable with modifications to the research person.

- (1) Have I rendered the interviewee articulate; have I put him at his ease and given him an opportunity to express himself freely?
- (2) Have I seen and understood the interviewee's problems and position from *his* point of view?
- (3) Have I conducted myself in such a manner that it will be possible for the interviewee to "cooperate" with me or the agency, or have I failed to secure his cooperation?

⁵⁶ From field notes, Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles, 1925.

⁵⁷ From field notes, Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey, 1923-1925.

- (4) Have I succeeded in learning his attitudes as well as opinions, defenses or rationalizations? Did I enter his inner life? Did he lay his mask aside?
- (5) Have I enlarged his social world and provided the practical ways and means for readjustment fully?
- (6) Did I learn the cause of his behavior?⁵⁸

The securing of written materials is closely related to interviewing. Some persons are ready to talk freely, but not to write. They are usually persons who have pronounced opinions either for or against somebody or something, and hence, in these cases, there is no difficulty in opening the interview.

Persons of pronounced opinions are often unwilling to write out their experiences. They feel that to set down their aversions in writing is unnecessary, and that somehow they are not being trusted. They are often suspicious and afraid that they will incriminate themselves; they are cautious, inquiring carefully regarding the uses to which their statements might be put. Sometimes they show resentment, and again, they challenge the scientific viewpoint as being pro-Japanese, pro-Bolshevik, or pro-something which they are not.

On the other hand, many of those interviewed are reluctant to write out their experiences, often giving the impression that they do not want to be bothered, or, expressing the reaction that such a procedure is too slow, and that more definite action of a reform nature was needed. The lack of a scientific attitude on the part of the interviewee is especially troublesome.

Again, people of prominence, preachers, university professors, school principals, city officials, are slow about writing up personal materials. The feeling is indicated that they are superior to such an exercise. The method is good and the materials valuable, but let the other fellow do it—is the attitude. The technique for securing written life histories calls for a special chapter.

Under certain circumstances the method used by Clifford R. Shaw in obtaining written interviews is helpful. The initial step in his

⁵⁸ Pauline V. Young, *Interviewing in Social Work* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1935), p. 85. In this volume on interviewing the research student will find a wealth of materials which it will pay him to consider well.

method was to secure "a list of the boy's behavior problems, delinquencies, arrests, court appearances and commitments," to arrange these in the order of occurrence, and to present them "to the boy to be used as a guide in writing his 'own story'."⁵⁹ They were accompanied by the instructions "to give a complete and detailed description of each experience, the situation in which it occurred, and the impression which it made upon him."⁶⁰

In summarizing it may be said that research interviewing is never hurried. It takes all the time there is. It aims to avoid as far as possible the "short contact interview" with all the pressure and the jumping to conclusions that a short interview sometimes implies.⁶¹ It does not ask the "client" standardized and formal questions, but gets the interviewee to talking naturally and thus obtains the unexpected and deep-seated materials as well as the more superficial. It does not ask embarrassing questions about disease and questionable conduct and thus create or heighten tensions and inhibitions. It does obtain, not merely facts, but what is more important, a basis for interpreting them correctly.

The important thing in interviewing, is to make a gradual approach to "the center of a person's life," to develop rapport and identification, to understand the technique of mental release. "A person is always withholding something from others." Sometimes he withholds a great deal, but always something. The successful interviewer is the one who gets persons to withhold the least. Success in interviewing can be measured by the degree to which an interviewee can be stimulated to tell his own natural or social-psychological history.

Among the many qualifications that an interviewer may well possess, Bingham and Moore suggest "the care and training and objectivity of the interviewer in commercial surveys, the intuitive sym-

⁵⁹ Clifford R. Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁶⁰ *Loc. cit.*

⁶¹ Cf. Bertha C. Reynolds, *An Experiment in Short Contact Interviewing* (Northampton: Smith College for Social Work, 1932), Vol. III, No. 1.

pathy of the social worker, the common sense and understanding of the employment interviewer, the patience and insight of the psychiatrist, the educator's breadth of grasp, the self-immolation of the interviewer in industrial relations, with the enthusiasm and persistence of the reporter."⁶² Even this imposing list of traits, doubtless, is not complete. Almost any experienced interviewer will be able to add to this array of personality traits that are helpful in interviewing.

⁶² Walter V. D. Bingham and Bruce V. Moore, *How to Interview* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931), p. 204.

CHAPTER X

LIFE HISTORIES

The most important interviewing is that which succeeds in obtaining life histories. This type of document differs from an ordinary autobiography in that it gives the natural history of a person. It describes the person's mental reactions to the earliest social stimuli that he can recall and explains how these have led to attitudes, opinions, a sense of values, and standards. It gives the natural history of the evolution of an individual as a biological unit into a person as a socially functioning being. It depicts a person's mental and social conflicts, his crises, and throws light on the adjustments and accommodations that he has worked out. It helps thus to explain the origin and nature of a person's philosophy of life.

The life history differs from the autobiography in that the latter is more formal, is written with an idea of maintaining status and with the judgment of the public in mind, is likely to devote considerable space to "family trees," and historical events. The life history deals with personal experiences; it brings out what is in "the back of one's head," without special thought to favorable or unfavorable judgments that may result. It reveals what *is* and *was*, without judgments of merit or demerit. It records a person's reactions to situations as conceived by him at the time. It is secured not primarily from distinguished people whose autobiographies have a selling value, but from persons who have had important experiences in any given social situation, especially in a conflict situation.

The life history differs from the case history which the social worker secures in that the latter stresses the "individual," and his problems, while the former emphasizes the "person" in his development out of various social situations and stimuli; it explains how the person gains and loses status, and how he gains or loses a zest in

life. The case history usually seeks answers to definite questions and follows definite forms; the life history seeks to release tensions and to get a person to describe freely his *interesting experiences*. It "is introspective and reflective, revealing the inner, private life in terms of the fundamental motives or attitudes and the social situations which call these attitudes into existence."¹ Sample guides for obtaining life histories will suggest the valuable nature of the life history. The differences between ordinary questionnaires and the *life history guide* are marked.

Document I is an interesting sample that may be modified to suit the student's research problem. It was prepared by Dr. Robert E. Park for securing the life histories of Oriental immigrants. As suggested by Dr. Park it aims to obtain four things: A story of the immigrant's first contacts with American thought and practices; second, the story of his conflicts with American ways of thinking and doing, American customs, conventions, and standards; third, the story of whatever accommodations the immigrant has been able to make with these strange ways; and fourth, to obtain an understanding of the immigrant's resulting philosophy of life. It may indirectly help to explain the nature of prejudices, and of assimilation or socialization.

LIFE HISTORY GUIDE I*

THE LIFE HISTORY AS A SOCIAL DOCUMENT

Suggestions as to what is important in the Life History of Orientals and other Immigrants

Life histories of immigrants are valuable insofar as they give us insight into the processes of the "melting pot." We seek to learn from these documents:

(1) What the immigrant brings to this country as a heritage from the mother country. What are his hopes, ambitions, and his illusions in regard to life in America?

(2) What does he bring in the way of equipment, education, technical training, industrial habits, etc.? How much of his heritage, his language, for example, and his traditions are a handicap to him? How far is he able to overcome these handicaps? How does he actually accommodate himself to American life?

*Throughout this chapter the terms "document" and "life history guide" are used interchangeably; the one is a general term, the other specific.

¹E. T. Krueger, "The Value of Life History Documents for Social Research," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, IX:197.

(3) What about the second generation, the children? How far do they seek to preserve the language, traditions, and habits of thought of the older generation? How far do they succeed? What is the effect upon them of the inevitable break between the customs of their parents and of the Americans among they live?

These are the questions to which we have in the past found, and must still seek, answers in the stories which the immigrants tell of their own intimate personal experiences in this country.

The following inquiries are intended to be suggestive, merely. What is wanted is a narrative, concise, vivid, personal, with all the inflections and accents of the individual man or woman—and, so far as possible, in the first person.

I. Early Life

1. What had been your life, i.e., your place of residence, occupation, and ambitions before coming to America?
2. When did you first hear of America and what were your early notions and interests in regard to it?
3. What are the stories, legends, and general conceptions of America current in the part of the country whence you came?
4. Why did you choose to come to California rather than Hawaii, Australia, or Mexico?

II. First Impressions of America

1. What was the most interesting thing about America as you saw it for the first time?
2. What was most difficult to comprehend in your new experiences here?
3. What were your first and greatest difficulties in finding your way about and getting adjusted to America?
4. Did your fellow countrymen look strange or disappointing out here, or did you feel immediately at home with them?
5. What *shocked* you most about America? What about the freedom of young women? The candor with which Americans discuss love affairs and sentimental matters in their daily conversation, in their newspapers, billboards, and movies?
6. How far have your own notions about the freedom of women, the independence of children, etc., changed as a result of life in America?
7. How about the younger generation? Does the "freedom" and "independence" of Americans bring them into conflict with their parents? Does it unfit them for life in the old country?
8. How have you or your people sought to meet the problem of the second generation?

III. Social Contacts

1. How far have you been able to master the spoken and written language of America?
2. What newspapers, magazines, or books do you read in English? What book have you read that interests you most?

3. What acquaintances have you made among Americans and how intimate have your relations with Americans been?
4. To what organizations, church, social, or welfare, if any, do you belong, which bring you in touch with Americans?
5. What, if anything, are your own people, independently or in association with others, doing to improve the condition of your neighborhood or your community?
6. How have the land laws affected your personal and family life? Have they tended to make you nomadic, unsettled, and restless? How do you propose to meet this difficulty?
7. Do your people have more family difficulties, divorces, and desertions in this country than in the old? If so, how do you explain that fact?

IV. Conflicts and Accommodations

1. Have you had difficulties in finding a suitable home? Did your efforts to find a suitable home bring you into conflict with your neighbors? How did you manage to make peace and on what terms?
2. Has anything occurred in your experience to make you wish to avoid Americans; keep at a distance from them; or conceal your feelings regarding them.
3. If you had the one chance of your life time to express what you feel deepest about America and Americans, what would you say?
4. In what ways do Americans misunderstand and misjudge foreign peoples and especially your own?
5. Are you planning to return finally to your native country or to send your children back? If not, why?

V. Philosophy of Life

1. How far have you realized the ambitions with which you came into America?
2. What illusions have you had in regard to life in America and how far have you become reconciled to life here as it is?
3. Are you an internationalist and a cosmopolitan? If so, do you think such an ideal is being, and is likely to be, realized?
4. What is or will be your ambition for your children?
5. Are you in favor of intermarriage now or ultimately? If that does not take place, how do you think the race problem is likely to be solved?

In Document I the questions under Roman numeral I "locate" the immigrant. They serve as a basis for understanding his "first impressions" of the people whom he is contacting for the first time. To know an immigrant's social heritage and his attitudes helps to forecast and understand his first "impressions."

The questions under "II" tend to bring out the actual nature of the immigrant's preliminary, sensory, somewhat impersonal, perhaps,

"impressions" in an objective and understandable way. Question 5 has proved one of the most valuable, because its wording releases reactions that otherwise would be withheld for fear of being impolite or disrespectful. The answers to it bring out the sharper contrasts between the attitudes of the immigrant and the social values of the people he is meeting for the first time. A Filipino reports:

The thing that shocked me most about America is the way the girls act toward boys. One day I went to the beach and saw nothing but the most scandalous thing in my life, almost naked girls, men, and women. I said to myself, "What a pity! My country never can and never will reach this type of civilization."²

Coming home in a Ford from Tujunga where I was invited to talk in a church a couple of Sundays ago were two young men, each with his girl friend. One boy drove the machine and beside him was his girl. In the back seat was the older boy, his girl, and myself. We drove almost twenty miles to North Broadway and the old Ford almost ran amuck because almost all the way down the boy drove with one hand and the other was around the girl's body. They kissed each other many times. They seemed to be unconscious of the presence of an observer. I said within me that night, "What an asset for both good and an incentive for evil these second-hand Fords are!" This event did not shock me as much as my thought of the looseness and freedom of girls in this country.³

A description of the social contacts following first impressions is called for under "III." The organizations and groups to which an immigrant has access are indicative of the prevailing types of his contacts. The first part of "IV" relates to the results of the contacts which are "different" or perhaps shocking. These denote the immigrant's major problems. They constitute "crises to him, upsetting his established habits, creating strong emotional reactions."

These *conflicts* are likely to be experienced by an immigrant in getting work to do, in finding a home, and in associating with "shrewd" Americans or fellow nationals. A misunderstanding of conditions and exploitation easily lead to conflicts. Having to learn a new kind of work in this country, to do it under an American "boss," and to live under unexpected conditions produces serious mental conflicts. A Japanese immigrant makes the following statement:

² From field notes, Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey.

³ *Loc. cit.*

I felt race consciousness when I was going down Cherry Street in the third day of my American life. A group of young shipyard workers were coming up the opposite sidewalk and poured upon us, for I was with one of my friends, the words, "Hey, Yellow! Jap, Jap." I did not know what they meant until my friend explained it to me. I tried to forget it by thinking that they were ignorant, uneducated workers. But things similar to this happened many times since. . . . I have experiences of that sort with the street car conductors many times.⁴

The life history will also bring out the *accommodations* that a person such as an immigrant has made. Sometimes these are unsatisfactory to him, but seem to be the best that he can do. They represent at least a temporary solution of conflicts. Some compensatory factor is usually the explanation of the accommodation.

At the present time we are living in a home which is no home; it is nothing more than a house. Yet I love it, because my neighbors are kindly and good to me. My next door neighbor (an American) treats me as she does her own daughters; I am in and out of her house daily. I take all my troubles to her, and she helps me as one who needs understanding and love. (Japanese)⁵

Sundays were the dreaded days. In the afternoon I did not know anybody to go to see, so I had to stay in my room and write to my friends at home. My love for my friends at home grew very much. Sometimes I wrote letters all afternoon then at night went to a show to forget and get over my lonesomeness. I did not have anybody to tell my troubles to. . . . One thing I learned of this lonesomeness was to be satisfied with my own company; a book now can provide me the response necessary. (Porto Rican)⁶

I have tried to keep that ideal (a kindly spirit toward this country and the American people) through all that has happened and to teach my children to do the same. Many times it has been hard as when I would rent a bed to a man (American) for fifteen cents and then have him smoke in bed and burn up the bedding which cost me many times the price of the bed. Some of the men would come in drunk and create a disturbance; others would sleep quietly. But always I tried to think that I was serving these poor American workmen as well as earning money for myself so I did not complain when things went wrong. I was reconciled and resigned.⁷

In the accommodations that are effected, assimilation may result. As this takes places largely in unconscious ways to the person involved, its analysis by him is rare. One is made aware from time to time that he has changed in his attitudes, much to his own surprise. It is the life history technique that brings out the process of assimila-

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁷ *Loc. cit.*

tion which has been operating, silently and unawares even to those most concerned.

My background is American. My ideals of life, of education, of religion, even all, is American. I know the Constitution; the oath of allegiance; I know the history of America from its earliest beginnings. I know its strength and weakness. I have loved America and its ideal, because her ideals were my ideals. I have risen up in wrath against any criticism which might be made against America, my country. (Japanese)⁸

I learned in school today that there is going to be a war with Japan, and if there is, I am going to have to fight you. [Why? asked the father.] Because you're a foreigner. (Japanese boy)⁹

Life histories also reveal that out of the accommodations and assimilations there develops a *changed philosophy of life*. As a rule this represents, in the case of the Orientals on the Pacific Coast, a disappointed attitude toward the United States. High hopes regarding America have been shattered and many expectations have fallen flat.

Democracy as explained (by an American) is far from the democracy which we Japanese already understood. He said that American democracy is primarily for the benefit of American people. It has to obey the wishes of the people, which are constantly changing; hence the inconsistency in her policy. Consequently, American democracy (he said) can never be polite. This makes necessary, I think, the international idea. I am discouraged by American democracy. . . . We must throw away the idea of race prejudice for internationalism. If we cannot solve this question there will be no peace among human beings permanently. (Japanese)¹⁰

When I have no job it seems as if everything is against me. In America, it seems to me, labor is nothing but a commodity. But I say labor is a blessing and the means through which life at its best is attained. I am an internationalist and cosmopolitan. . . . America is no place for me. I am not needed here at all. The Philippines need me and my services more than Uncle Sam does. (Filipino)¹¹

The life history questionnaire has been experimented with by E. T. Krueger,¹² who states that it helps a person "to organize his study into a more connected and complete account," than he would otherwise make. It eliminates "irrelevancy." It is "not to be broadcasted

⁸ *Loc. cit.*

⁹ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*

¹² "The Technique of Securing Life History Documents," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, IX:291 ff.

but to be used in selected instances where there is some personal contact." It is designed, not to secure detached information about everything that a person has achieved, but concerning "tension situations, crises, attitudes, and vivid memories." It is "suggestive rather than detailed," being designed to release a person's tension mechanisms. It secures data not by prolonged and laborious questioning but by skilfully given and vivid stimulations. It should secure "a narrative document rather than an expository one." The person is urged "not to answer questions as such, but to narrate the concrete experiences aroused by the questions."¹³

The multiple-sentence paragraph type of life history guide, which asks about the same situation in several different ways produces "a more thorough arousalment of the person's imagination and memory." The procedure may follow a chronological or a subject-matter method, or a combination of the two as in Document I. The chronological age-period technique "is aided by customary memory processes; the subject-matter method is limited because experiences are not composed of separate threads but are interwoven strands which cannot be separated without violence to the data."¹⁴

If a person is willing to write out a life history, then he should not be allowed to tell part of it orally, for his later written narrative will as a result be abbreviated. He should be encouraged to "write when alone" and "confidentially," even using substitute names for persons and places. If he writes on both sides of the paper, suggests Dr. Krueger, his document will seem shorter than it is and he may be expected accordingly to write more.

When the complete document is brought in, it is opportune to secure permission to use it, in whole or in part, 'if it should prove valuable' assuring the writer of strict disguise. The human nature factors of uniqueness of experience and the desire to play an important role have a bearing on the feeling of pride which generally can be counted upon to gain consent for use. To secure permission at a later date may prove difficult.¹⁵

¹³ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁴ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

THE NATIVE AMERICAN LIFE HISTORY

Life histories of Americans also proved valuable in the Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey. Some of these were obtained from persons with well-known anti-Oriental attitudes; some, with friendly feelings toward the Oriental; some, with more or less impersonal attitudes in the matter but who had contacts with Orientals.

Document I was used with good results. As a rule Americans caught the meaning of the life history more quickly than did the Oriental but were more reluctant to write it out. They sometimes disclosed an attitude of superiority to the process—a willingness to let others respond. Or, "It's a fine thing to do, but I'm pretty busy you know." "Too much else to do." "It would take a week to do it."

"We don't have to sign our own names, do we?" indicates personal sensitiveness, which in extreme cases led persons to refuse altogether. Some would promise, even with enthusiasm but never "got around to it." Many were willing to have life histories secured, but were unwilling to write their own.

The *first contacts* that are made in any social situation are significant. They are lasting if accompanied by emotional reactions, and hence they are important research data.

I remember well the first time I saw a Negro. I was four or five years old. The Negro was to me simply a curiosity. I don't remember that I ever experienced any repulsion to the black race. I remember when I was quite small my father read aloud Uncle Tom's Cabin and I think that helped to make me friendly toward the Negro.¹⁶

As a little child I remember some little mulatto children and tried hard to imagine myself with a white grandfather and a black grandmother. My nurse watched me very closely. When she learned of my interest she forbade me to go near them. But 'forbidden fruit'—you know—and one day I ventured too close. A shower of stones fell on me—and I still have a scar on my head from one of them. That was my first experience with mulattoes. After that my nurse filled my mind with disagreeable tales about mulattoes.¹⁷

It is important to seek out the origins of *conflict situations*, whether they grow out of unfortunate first contacts, out of mature

¹⁶ From field notes, Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey.

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*

observations of "disgusting" conduct, out of imagination let loose, or out of pure argumentation based on limited experiences or somebody's adverse reports.

During the World War hundreds of Russian refugees came to Japan where I (an American) was living. The streets were full of Russians 'jabbering away.' They had an abundance of money and flung it here and there in a way to make one believe the rumors that went around that they were low class folk who had stolen jewels and other valuables in their own country, and had escaped. When one of them would pay \$150 a month for a house that an American had been renting for \$75, the Russian in most cases would get the house. Servants became scarce and high priced. Dress goods, food, everything that foreigners used went up and up, because of the Russians, as we thought then. They upset our economic situation or we thought they did.¹⁸

The origins of *accommodations* are equally illuminating, arising as they sometimes do from subjective adjustments, sometimes from more objective reasons.

I can remember a time when we as a family were most bitter in our denunciation of the Jews. Then to our consternation my sister married a Jew and we had to associate with them for her sake. . . . During many visits among the families of my Jewish brother-in-law's relatives, I have received most hospitable treatment, have found the home life lovely, refined, cultured, modulated voices, musical training, moderate expenditure, sincerity rather than ostentation and superficiality. . . . I (now) admire the Jews where once I stood aloof and scorned them.¹⁹

My first feelings toward Chinese were fear, because they were so very different and their language didn't sound human. I used to hurry past Chinese laundries because I was afraid. . . . Years later, I began to like them because I found that they were like other people and had admirable traits, too. This new, common-sense feeling came through contact with them, Chinese schoolmates, boys and girls; also through Chinese cooks on the ranch where I stayed awhile.²⁰

In the illustrations of *accommodations* it may be noted that the adjustments do not extend to a person's giving up any of his established beliefs for those of some other group. They usually stop with obtaining an appreciation of why other persons are different and with the working out of plans for friendly relations.

¹⁸ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁹ *Loc. cit.*

²⁰ *Loc. cit.*

TEACHER-PUPIL HISTORIES

An important type of a personal life history is that involving case histories of immigrant children written by teachers who have such pupils in their classes. The teacher-pupil relation is a steady, continuous one, extending over a period of time sufficient to give the teacher an opportunity to learn of the problems facing children. Document II, prepared by Robert E. Park, follows the plan of life histories in general, but is adjusted to the teacher-pupil relationship. It may be noted that emphasis is placed on studying the pupil's "isolation" situation and to the special problems of adjustment. It shows what can be done by way of modifying a life history guide to meet a research need with reference to a particular problem. Document II may be carefully compared with Document I.

LIFE HISTORY GUIDE II

TEACHER-PUPIL RELATIONS

(An Outline for writing a Case History of Oriental Children)

The present study of Race Relations will be based, as far as practicable, on case studies. It aims in this way to supplement statistical and formal information with concrete facts; facts, that is to say, based on experience and personal contact between the races in any or all of the ordinary relations of life.

Teachers have an opportunity to know at first hand the younger generation of Orientals and the problems that their presence in the schools and in the community has created. Teachers are, therefore, in a particularly favorable position to supplement general observations with intimate personal knowledge. It is important to know the racial type, but it is just as important to discover how far this type is capable of deviation in different individuals, under the different conditions of American life.

A case study for the purpose of this study is a record of any experience, event, or other matter of first-hand observation or knowledge that seems likely to throw light upon existing race relations. A report of such a case study should ordinarily include some statement in regard to the character and extent of the investigator's knowledge about and acquaintance with Oriental peoples.

On the basis of this information a more specific and detailed project for further study may be worked out. That is, in fact, part of the plan.

The following outline, it is perhaps unnecessary to add, is intended to be suggestive merely. What is desired most in the way of a report, is a *free and full narrative of personal experiences*; letters, classroom papers, or other

documents illustrating points of interest in this narrative, are particularly desirable. *Do not try to answer these questions categorically but on the basis of them write in your own way your own observations.*

I. Personal Contacts

1. Aside from the relation of teacher and pupil, how many Orientals—Japanese, Chinese, Hindus, or Filipinos—have you known *personally*?
2. Have you had occasion to visit the homes of any of your Oriental pupils? If so, what impressions did you gather from such visits?
3. What differences, if any, have you observed in the racial traits, say, of the Japanese and Chinese, or the Japanese and Hindus?
4. What specially interested you, in any of your Oriental pupils?
5. What sort of difficulties, other than one would expect of any pupil of the same age, have *you* had in dealing with Oriental pupils?

II. Isolation

One of the facts to be considered in this study is the extent and character of what we call the isolation of Orientals. Isolation may be physical. In that case, it is segregation. It may be mental, due to inability to integrate oneself with the community. It may be moral, when as a consequence of prejudice, the individual feels himself shut out from social contacts.

1. How freely do Oriental children meet, talk, and play with other children? What observations have you made on the playground? Is the play supervised? Do Orientals play with other children? Do the little children or the older ones play with one another more freely? At what age are they most together? When do they begin to separate?
2. What effect does such ostracism as Orientals ordinarily encounter have upon their interest in their studies? Do they recite freely before the other children? Does it discourage them? Does it make them desire to escape from association with their own people? Does it stimulate them to study harder in order to overcome the racial handicap? If possible, cite cases.
3. To what extent, in your opinion, does the handicap of an imperfect knowledge of English tend to isolate the Oriental pupils?
4. Do the more "Americanized" pupils make better students, or do you notice any difference in this respect? What about discipline?

III. Conflicts

The native dispositions and impulses of children do not fit them to live in society. They have to learn by experience what they must and must not do. This inevitably involves them in more or less conflict with a more or less arbitrary existing social order.

The children of immigrants and particularly of Asiatics, because these parents do not speak our language and do not know our customs, are presumably less prepared than the children of the native-born to

meet the demands of our society. It is interesting and important, therefore, to study the nature and origin of such difficulties.

1. Are children of Asiatic parents more difficult or less, to control than children of native white parents? In either case how, based on your experience, could you explain the facts?
2. Do you know cases of children of Asiatic parentage who have given evidence of markedly different moral standards from the white children with whom they associated? Was their conduct such as to excite the attention, or the indignation, of their white playmates? Cite cases where possible.
3. Can you give instances illustrating the sort of problems in discipline peculiar to children of Asiatic parentage?
4. What sort of conflicts arise between children of Asiatic parentage and those of American parentage? Give illustrations.
5. What do you know of the mental conflicts of children of Oriental parents? Are there difficulties in respect to these conflicts, between those who speak English fluently and those who speak imperfectly?
6. Are children raised in Asia likely to be disorderly in unexpected and unusual ways, or do their delinquencies fall into the ordinary and conventional categories with which we are familiar?
7. Do you know cases of Japanese or Chinese children who have gone back to Japan or China to study, and afterwards returned to the United States, or who were in school in the Orient before coming to America? If so, what differences did you observe in their attitude and general behavior after their return? In what ways did they differ from Oriental children who remained in the United States?

IV. Accommodation

Accommodation in the sense here used is the process by which an individual learns to accommodate himself to the social and economic order in which he lives. His own success and the character of his relations to his neighbors and the community all depend upon his ability to make the necessary accommodations. If a pupil is getting on well in school and does not have more than the usual difficulties with his fellow students, this would be regarded as a case of successful accommodation.

1. What is the largest family you know among the Asiatic groups? Number of children? How, on the whole, did the children of this family turn out?
2. Do you know cases in which children of Asiatic parentage have been signally honored by their schoolmates?
3. Have you known many Oriental children who have required the attention of the probation officer, attendance officers, or the police? Have you known any sent to reform school?
4. To what extent are children of Asiatic parentage accepted by their schoolmates outside of the school environment?

5. What proportion of children of Asiatic parentage that graduated from your school go to college?
6. Do you know in specific cases what occupations Japanese and Chinese students enter?
7. Do such graduates have special difficulty in finding positions suited to their training and ability?
8. Do you know of conspicuous cases of success or failure among children of Asiatic parents after leaving school?
9. Do children of Asiatic parentage display any special interest in American history or American politics or social problems?
10. What, if any, social or political problems are these children interested in? Are they interested in race problems? If so, how far is it a topic of discussion or conversation among them?

V. Education

1. What proportion of your class is Oriental?
2. How do they compare in age with the other foreign born in your class? With the native white?
3. What studies do the Orientals do best? Least well? Is there any difference here in the Chinese and Japanese?

RACIAL INTERMARRIAGE HISTORIES

A third special type of life history has grown out of the study of interracial marriages, for these lead to special problems and accommodations. An intermarriage history is more complicated, in a way, than any of the types already considered, for its unit is not one person but at least two, a husband and wife possessing different sets of culture, and usually a number of children, representing in their lives peculiar conflicts and accommodations emerging from the impact of different paternal and maternal heritages and also from the impact of an unusual and often disapproved marriage and family life with the surrounding social life. The racial intermarriage history deals with an exceedingly complicated set of plural relationships inextricably interwoven and frequently little understood by the main parties concerned.

Document III as worked out by Robert E. Park deals with hybridization and the resulting conflict and accommodation of cultures. The obtaining of biological data on hybridization is especially difficult. Another research problem concerns itself with the social results of

such intermarriages. Here the problems are those of the hybrid being more or less repudiated by both parental racial groups.

LIFE HISTORY GUIDE III

RACIAL INTERMARRIAGE HISTORY

It is desirable that each case of intermarriage be set down as an independent document or story, with stress laid on those aspects of the situation that seem to have significance. Though it is important to get as many stories of intermarriage as possible, the information that has been obtained through personal knowledge of the individuals concerned is likely to be more valuable than information less directly obtained. The more detail and intimacy such a document has, the more revealing it will be.

The following questions are not set down so that they may be answered, but merely that they may suggest some of the aspects under which interracial marriage may be considered. It is probable that in the course of investigation and further study certain other aspects of intermarriage will prove to be more important than those set down here.

A. On Interracial Marriage

1. Of what height and coloring is the American woman married to an Oriental?
 - (a) Is it a type closely approximating that of the Oriental women?
2. What kind of Oriental man does the American woman marry?
 - (a) Is he American in appearance?
 - (b) What seems to be the basis of the physical attraction?
3. Are the American women who have married Orientals wholesome and conventional people?
 - (a) Do any of them belong to marked psychological types, the romantic, the neurotic, etc.
 - (b) In case they are women of a marked type, did the isolation caused by their marriage, which placed them outside of the usual kind of social competition, make life easier and more satisfactory to them?
4. Are the Oriental men who have married American women of a gay and open disposition or are they steady and reserved?
5. In the cases where an American woman has married an Oriental man, did she belong by birth and circumstance to relatively the same economic and social class as he, and was her status raised or lowered by her marriage?
 - (a) How did her family react to the news that she was going to marry an Oriental? Did their feelings alter with time? Do they talk about it with their friends?

- (b) How do her brothers and the men of her acquaintance regard her? Do her women friends think her marriage is unfortunate or romantic?
- (c) How large is the circle of her acquaintance? Is it smaller than before her marriage? In case it is smaller has this affected her happiness? How does she show it? Pride, defensive self-sufficiency?
- (d) Does her circle of acquaintances include both Americans and Orientals? Are her friends and acquaintances people of the same class and cultural backgrounds as her own?
- 6. What kind of social life does the Oriental have who is married to an American woman?
 - (a) How is the Oriental affected, if at all, in his business relations with Americans who know of his marriage?
 - (b) Do his countrymen consider that he has raised or lowered his status by marrying an American woman? Does their judgment about that depend upon the social status and personal charm of the woman he married?
 - (c) Do they ask him to their homes as readily as they otherwise would? Do they ask his wife? Do they treat him with any reserve or suspicion?
 - (d) Does the Oriental bring his Oriental friends to his home? Does he bring his American friends? To what extent do the friends of the husband and wife mix?
- 7. In general, do these couples regard their marriage as successful?
 - (a) Are there any cases in which Orientals are said to have gone insane because of the conflicts that arose out of their loneliness, homesickness, and their relations with American women, which were a result of their enforced isolation in the American community?
 - (b) In cases the Oriental marries an American woman, is his family life stabilized by this same isolation?
 - (c) If the marriage seems to be a happy and successful one, on what elements in the personalities of the husband and wife, and what elements in their situation does this success depend?

B. ON THE CHILD OF MIXED PARENTAGE

- 1. Could any of these children pass for Americans?
 - (a) If not, what physical characteristics do they possess that are a result of their Asiatic blood?
- 2. Do these children have any bad traits that either Oriental or white children do not have to the same extent? Sensitivity, etc.?
- 3. In how many different kinds of communities has the child of mixed blood lived, and how did these different experiences affect him?
 - (a) Has he lived for the most part in—
 - 1. An American community?
 - 2. An Oriental community?
 - 3. A mixed community?

- (b) Were his playmates and friends, children of white, Oriental, or mixed blood?
- (c) Is there any disposition on the part of the child of mixed blood to hold aloof from the children of both racial groups? In case this tendency exists, does it manifest itself more strikingly when the child's family lives in—
1. An American community?
 2. An Oriental community?
 3. A mixed community?
4. What mental conflicts does the child of mixed parentage have?
- (a) What is the attitude of the child towards its parents?
5. How is the child of mixed parentage accepted by the American group?
- (a) Is he treated as any other child would be by the members of his mother's family? Is the child of unusual intelligence and charm accepted without any perceptible reservations by its American kin?
- (b) In case the child of mixed parentage does not feel that he is wholly acceptable to the white American group, how early and under what circumstances did he become aware of this? Playing with the neighborhood children, school, dances, teasing?
6. How is the child of mixed parentage accepted in the Oriental group?
- (a) Is he taught Chinese or Japanese, or do his parents want him to be as American as possible?
- (b) To what extent does he seek acquaintances and friends among his father's friends?
7. Are there any special friendships, or gangs, or clubs, among young people of mixed blood?
- (a) Does the child of mixed Oriental and American parentage ever marry other children of mixed blood parentage, e.g., the Indian half-breed?
- (b) Does he ever intermarry with other peoples of sallow or swarthy complexion, e.g., the Spaniard, Portuguese, Armenian, or Syrian, or with any of the other Mediterranean peoples?
- (c) Is there any difference in the behavior of the sexes in this respect?
- (d) Does the man of mixed blood ever prefer not to marry at all, in order to evade the fixing of his status by attaching himself definitely through marriage to either racial group?

C. ON THE ORIENTAL

WHO BELONGS TO DIFFERENT GENERATIONS

That thing that would give the best insight into the life and mental conflicts of a child of mixed parentage would be the complete history of such an

individual. It would probably reveal much if one could get the complete history of any single Oriental, whether of mixed blood or not.

A body of intimate biographical material of this kind might afford us a reasonably accurate picture of what America looks like to the Oriental who has for any considerable length of time made America his living place. It would also serve to show the process by which an Oriental, living in this country a more or less isolated existence succeeds finally, perhaps unconsciously, in living himself into American life.

It would be very desirable to get biographical or autobiographical documents on—

1. First Generation Orientals
 - (a) Born in the Orient
2. Second Generation Orientals
 - (b) Born in the United States of foreign-born parents
3. The Mixed Blood Generation
 - (c) Born in the United States of mixed white and Oriental parentage

VI. Conclusions

This attempt to indicate what might prove interesting about racial intermarriage is not intended to limit our investigation or to prejudice facts. It is intended rather to be tentative, suggestive, and open to suggestions and corrections, *especially by facts* that it may call forth.

Since *opinions about the Oriental* eventually lead back to some rather instinctive and deep-seated attitudes about intermarriage, the facts have a very real interest. Any public policy that is likely to be permanently satisfactory must reckon with these facts.

One of the difficulties of getting racial intermarriage data is the extreme sensitiveness of the parents. They have been the objects of special comment, of unpleasant remarks, of isolation, so much that the whole subject of intermarriage is often taboo to them.

LIFE HISTORIES OF BOYS WITH PROBLEMS

A special life-history questionnaire was worked out in the Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles. Document IV, "The Social History of a Boy," gives an additional illustration of how the "Life History as a Social Document" may be modified to meet a new research situation as it arises. Document IV has been used with success with older boys and young men. Boys' leaders and teachers who have the confidence of older boys and young men have given them "The Social

History of a Boy" and received twenty- to forty-page documents in return. Something over one hundred and fifty extensive life histories were secured in the Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles. Many of these were from boys with problems, while so-called "normal boys" usually reported on serious conflicts which they had experienced. All boys have problems at times and in different ways.

LIFE HISTORY GUIDE IV

THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF A BOY

By a social history of a boy is meant an account of his conflicts and accommodations within the home, neighborhood, school, church, play and occupational activities, and of the resulting problems as he sees them. A social history is a social-psychological picture of one's world, of one's human associations as one sees them himself.

Social histories of boys are valuable to the extent that they give an insight into the processes of the development of a boy, the nature of his social contacts, the conflicts which he experiences, and the accommodations that he makes. These documents are important insofar as they throw light on the following factors: (The following outline is to be used as a guide by the interviewer of boys, who should get its main points well in mind before the interview is begun.)

(1) *Heritage*. What was the boy's social heritage? What were the traditions of his parents? Their attitude toward religion, toward racial and national values, toward education, toward industrial activities? What is their type of family life? What was their equipment for training boys, including their handicaps and advantages? What difficulties occurred within the home in matters of adjustments between parents? What were their hopes and ambitions for this particular boy?

What brothers and sisters did he have? What have been their outstanding traits? Their influence upon his life?

What musical and artistic tendencies has he?

His age, birthplace, race?

(2) *Early Life*. What was the nature of his earliest distinctive tendencies? The trend of his earliest interests and habits? His earliest conflicts? The first handicaps that he brought on himself? What were the earliest fears that he can recall, and his earliest joys? How were his earliest conflicts settled?

(3) *Social Contacts*. Which parent seems to understand him best? Which parent is he most like? What routine work does he do at home? How far does he and his parents associate in their amusements? If he lost his parents what would he do? What books, outside of school books, did he read? What magazines? What did he read that he liked most?

Who are his chums? Describe their likes and dislikes. Has any of them gotten into trouble and in what ways? Does he bring his "pals" into the home?

How often does he go to motion picture shows, to public dance halls, and to pool halls?

What girls has he known well? How intimate has been his friendship with them? What are his parents' attitude toward the one he likes best? What are their likes and dislikes? What does he do in his leisure time; how much leisure does he have and during what hours of the day? With whom does he come in contact at these times?

To what organizations, such as a boys' club, a gang, a church club or class has he belonged? What was the nature of the activities of each? Has he been a member of a Sunday School, of the Boy Scouts, of any similar organization? Has he dropped out of any of these? Under what conditions? Does he smoke cigarettes? Why? or why not? His parents' attitude?

In what ways does he get along well at school? In what ways poorly? His parents' attitude?

Has he been a leader in any of these clubs? In what ways did he lead well, and in what did he fail, and for what reason?

(4) *Conflicts and Accommodations.* What difficulties has he had in the home, with either parent, of long-standing nature? What conflicts has he had with other members of his family and what has happened?

What outstanding difficulties has he had with his playmates? Any fights he remembers? Have him describe the history of any boyhood feud that he was a part of for any length of time.

Did he have any difficulties with the older people of the neighborhood? With the parents of other children?

Under what conditions does he remember most distinctly being punished? What activities does he seem to conceal from his parents? Is the home atmosphere one of peace or conflict? Of economic pressure?

What conflicts has he had at school, with any teachers, principals, truant officers, or with other boys at school?

Did he ever run away from home or school? Why and what were the reactions?

Has he a car? Any problems? His parents' attitude toward his use of it? What picture shows does he like best? Least?

Did he ever "swipe" anything, and if so under what conditions? Did he ever get "pinched"? His experiences in this connection? Ever been in jail? Experiences?

Has there been any breaking off of love affairs? What day dreams has he had? Has he had any troublesome dreams? Has he ever had imaginary companions?

In what ways does he feel that he has been treated most unjustly? Has he ever felt hampered, and wanted to upset things generally? What important questions does he decide for himself? How does he get increased independence?

In what ways does he feel that he has been most misunderstood? By whom, and under what conditions? Any disagreements with his parents regarding money, clothes, the automobile, girls, chums? What things does he ask permission to do?

Under what conditions has he experienced "pangs of conscience"? Does he remember feeling distinctly sorry for something?

Has he ever had any religious problems or conflicts or "been converted"?

Has he ever worked for wages? Has he ever wanted money and couldn't get it? Has he ever saved and why? What kinds of work does he like best and what least?

(5) *Philosophy of Life*. What was his first or earliest choice of a vocation, and what changes have occurred along this line? What are his greatest ambitions today? His occupational expectations? Does he have any money-making ambitions, and what are his reactions to making money and becoming rich? What is his life aim? Do parents agree with it?

What are his religious beliefs? Does he believe that one political party is better than another? Does he believe in racial equality? Is he interested in more than one race or nation? What does he consider to be the leading public questions of the day? Does he have any ideas of social responsibility and social service and if so, how did they arise?

If he could have one wish above all others granted, what would it be?

One of the problems in studying boys' centers is boys' gangs, and hence a social history questionnaire of a boys' gang is important (Document V). By the personal interview method it is possible to obtain a gang's natural history, providing one can locate a boy who is no longer a member but who has kept in touch with the gang from time to time. A boy who has been "kicked out" of a gang will often give a great deal of information that may be investigated further and may reveal important data. The most authentic way to obtain a gang's history is to drift into one and get acquainted with some of the members. The active member is exceedingly suspicious of all "outsiders," for he has been repeatedly trailed by the police, plain clothes men, and others.²⁶

LIFE HISTORY GUIDE V

THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF A BOY'S GANG

The social history of a boys' gang refers to its origin in the desires of the boy and in the stimuli or the lack of stimuli in the social en-

²⁶ See Frederick M. Thrasher, *The Gang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929).

vironment, to the description of the dominating desires of its personnel, of the conflicts as a group with other social institutions. Data of the following kinds are useful:

(1) *Ecological*. What are the hang-outs of the gang? Addresses of the homes of the members.

General nature and range of activities of the gang?

The geography of the community under which the gang ranges? Topography, railroad tracks, industrial properties, manufacturing establishments, types of stores? A map carefully drawn would be valuable.

Locate the moving picture shows, poolrooms, dance halls, cabarets, soft-drink establishments, penny arcades, in the neighborhood which serve as a center of the gang's activities.

Locate the parks, playgrounds, athletic clubs.

Locate the schools, libraries, settlements, churches, missions.

What are the types of houses, the degree of sanitation?

What is the distribution of races?

(2) *Personnel*. Get as complete a social history as possible of each of the ring-leaders of the gang throughout its history and of any members who have played a peculiar or significant role. (Use "The Social History of a Boy.")

(3) *Origins*. Date of the club's earliest known activities, and dates of all outstanding experiences of the clubs as such; for example, its clashes with other gangs, with the police, or its marauding expeditions.

What is the time for the gang's regular meetings, and also of its irregular meetings? What are the main places of meetings? What main changes in personnel have occurred in the history of the gang? How far are its present principles the same as at the outset? Under what conditions have changes in personnel and principles occurred?

(4) *Organization*. What is the basis of membership? What written laws? What unwritten rules, agreements, understandings?

Does the gang have a constitution, by-laws, a charter?

What property does it possess, equipment, paraphernalia?

What words, signs, symbols, whistles, are characteristic of it?

Does it exist in the form of a secret fraternity in connection with the schools? If so, what conflicts has it had with the school? What is the attitude of the parents of the members toward it, and of the teachers and principals toward it?

(5) *Group Activities and Conflicts*. What are the activities within the group, such as fighting, "chewing the rag," gambling, drinking, smoking cigarettes, sex practices?

What conflicts with other groups has it had? With other gangs? With truant officers and the police? With neighborhood people or with store-keepers?

What mischievous activities characterize it? What malicious delinquency? Stealing? Assaults? Destruction of property, trespassing, pickpocketing?

Who has dropped out of the gang? Under what conditions?

What new interests have arisen?

(6) *Philosophy*. How do the members account for their destructive activities as a gang? What are their attitudes regarding good citizenship? What are their reactions to organized religion? What sense of respect do they have toward their respective homes? Toward establishing homes of their own? Toward having money? Toward becoming community leaders?

Since the key persons in welfare agencies are the leaders, an interview guide is valuable in securing their life histories. The retroactive effect upon the leader is obvious. The data, both in regard to inadequate training, unsatisfactory attitudes, incomplete vision, speak louder than words. The ordinary leader in writing out a statement regarding himself puts in a large number of regrets concerning his lack of training, all of which become data, not of negative but of positive value in working out standards for leaders.

LIFE HISTORY GUIDE VI

HISTORY OF THE BOYS' WORK LEADER

The foregoing life history guides are designed to be used with the rank and file. A life history guide for obtaining data from a leader will contain new features. The leader's experiences are derived partly from first-hand contacts with boys and partly from association with other leaders of boys. His strength arises from being able to make comparisons of the experiences of leaders of boys, and of boys themselves.

(1) *Problems*. What are the main problems of working with boys as the leader sees them? What are the main types of problem boys?

What outstanding difficulties does his agency have in working with boys? What handicaps, and what needs?

(2) *Activities*. What are the activities of his agency for boys? The underlying theory of these? The extent of the work done and at what places? How many boys are given training, of what kinds, and for how many hours per week?

How many leaders of boys does he direct? What is the training of each of these leaders and of himself? The academic training? The experience training? Which is the better, and why; the poorer, and why?

How far does his agency cooperate with the parents of boys? With schools? With the neighborhood?

(3) *Needs*. What are the greatest needs of his agency in helping boys?

By way of equipment? By way of new and better leaders? What training does its leaders need which they do not possess? What are the main needs of the boys in the neighborhood where his agency is located?

(4) *Philosophy*. Are social conditions and influences among boys in his community growing better or not?

Does he view the increasing freedom assumed by youth as wholly good? The increasing disrespect for the peace and for authority as wholly bad? His reactions to the youth movement?

What changes has he undergone in his theory about boys' work? Why? How did he get interested in boys' work? In his present line of boys' work? How long does he expect to stay in boys' work? What are the biggest problems in his work as he sees it?

The social history of a social institution is the history of the aspirations and activities of many persons, of some as leaders, and of many as followers. Like a person it has an ecological history and cultural backgrounds; it is in conflict with other institutions; it is undergoing transformation and social assimilation. Its history is found best of all in the personal experiences of all whose lives have gone into its making.

Since boys' welfare agencies are the particular institutions which have been developing to help boys solve problems when the home proves inadequate, a social history of a boys' welfare agency is desirable (Document VII). As a rule the agency is sensitive of its shortcomings and hence confidential relations need to be established. The weaknesses in these agencies may be discussed privately with the executives and others interested. An executive who writes out one of these social histories usually experiences wholesome reactions that he had not thought of before.

LIFE HISTORY GUIDE VII

THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF A BOYS' WELFARE AGENCY

The natural history of a Boys' Welfare Agency, or of that part of any institution, such as a church or a school which has a boys' work program, is valuable insofar as it gives insight into the processes by which boys and their problems are treated. We need to know the following things:

(1) *Heritage*. What is the social heritage of the agency or of that division of it dealing with boys? For what purpose was it founded? What underlying principles of organization does it have?

Who are its main sponsors and how is it financed? List contributors, directors, and study interesting points in minutes of board of directors. What

influences enter at this point? What crises in its history have occurred and what changes in policy and administration have taken place?

(2) *Work*. What are its main activities for boys? What are the addresses of all the places where work under its auspices is conducted? What changes in its program of activities have occurred? In what way has its work dwindled? How many boys are meeting under its direction? How many hours per week does it give to each and in what kind of work? List of boy members, classified, with addresses.

What city, state, and other ordinances or laws govern its activities? What difficulties has it had as an organization? What emphasis is placed on psychiatry? Psychology? Medical examinations? Social work methods? Sociology? What does it do in the training of leaders in boys' work, together with the addresses of each. Which have been especially successful, and in what ways? What preparation does each make for his daily work? What systematic training has each had?

Why is each leader interested in his work? What does he like best about it, and what things does he dislike? If he had a considerable sum of money to expend in behalf of boys in the given district, how would he spend it?

(3) *Contacts and Conflicts*. What are its activities with other boys' organizations? With schools, churches, social agencies?

What neighborhood problems has the agency helped to solve?

Are there any boys' gangs or near-gangs in the agency's neighborhood? For what reasons; and if not, for what reasons? If there are, get an account of the agency's successes and failures in dealing with gangs.

What groups and organizations are hostile to the agency, and for what reasons? Who has criticized it and why?

(4) *Philosophy*. What is the agency's notion concerning the freedom of boys? Concerning the discipline of boys, and methods of controlling boys? What is its attitude toward a scientific education? Toward a Boy Guidance Clinic, toward psychiatry, scientific social work, and what has it done by way of social research relating to boys?

(5) *Personal Experiences*. Interview leaders within the agency to find out what they consider to be their main problems. Narrate at length and in detail.

Interview some of the people in the neighborhood where its work is conducted, such as parents and others, as to what they object to in relation to boys' work and get as full accounts as possible.

Interview boys within the agency and get a description of their experiences and reactions thereto as members of the agency.

Interview boys who have been members but have become dissatisfied and have dropped out and get a description of their experiences.

If the agency has had any "problem boys," get the natural history of each of these.

If the agency has had any boys who are, or have been members of boys' gangs, or near-gangs, get the natural history of any such gang.

One more related but specialized life history guide (VIII) may be suggested, namely, on "The Boy and the Church." The attempt is to get at the boys' own reactions to an established social institution essaying, as a part of its work, to mold the character and conduct of boys. If institutions are to cease to impose adult-made and tradition-made programs upon youth, some way must be found to secure the substantial reactions of boys themselves regarding the needs which social institutions are expected to meet.

LIFE HISTORY GUIDE VIII

THE BOY AND THE CHURCH

The conflicts and accommodations that a boy undergoes in his religious reactions are related both to his philosophy of life and to his daily conduct. It is worth while to note how light may be thrown on his underlying attitudes of life by an analysis of his religious experiences and reactions.

(1) *Heritage and Contacts.* What were the religious backgrounds and beliefs of each of his parents? Of other relatives, such as a grandparent, uncle or aunt, who took an interest in him? In what ways were these beliefs peculiar or unusual? Were there many religious differences or acrimonious disputes in the boy's home? Did he have any brothers or sisters who influence him and how, religiously? Who have been his playmates and chums and what have been their religious attitudes?

(2) *Conflicts and Accommodations.* What were the boy's earliest reactions to religion? What were the nature of his earliest religious beliefs and practices? Has he ever believed in prayer? The nature of his earliest prayers? Under what conditions? For protection? Because of any fears?

What have been his unfavorable reactions to religion? In connection with what experiences?

Has he ever been to Sunday School or its equivalent? When did he start and why? What did he like best, and dislike most? What does he say are the most significant things that he has learned in Sunday School or Church? Did he go because other boys and girls went?

What have been his church habits regarding attendance and participation? Did he ever like to go to church and why? What has he disliked most about church? What offices has he held in any department of the church, and with what success in each instance?

Have his religious experiences been strongly emotional in any way? Has he ever been "converted" and with what results?

Has he ever lost interest in Sunday School or church? Under what conditions? Have him describe these circumstances in full.

(3) *Philosophy*. Does he believe it pays to be religious? To belong to a church? Is religion a personal value to him? Why? Why not?

Have him describe in full and extensively the changes he would make in religious exercises, so that they might be ideal from his point of view. What religious problems have bothered him most? Which has he settled and by what processes?

What religious problems does he have that remain unsettled?

An important life history type that has been developed by J. L. Dufлот²⁷ is that which deals with the organized family. It treats, not of the one out of every six families which has ended in divorce and disorganization, but with the other five. It seeks "to discover the nature of the processes by which the other five families have succeeded in maintaining their unity and in inducting their members into a successful adjustment with society's requirements."²⁸ There are special difficulties because so much of the worth while materials seem ultra-personal, but these are treated as the physician treats "the private affairs of family health," namely, with absolute privacy. The extensive outline for the writer of a family life history will not be reproduced here, but it may follow these major classifications as suggested by Mr. Dufлот:

1. Family chronology
2. Family romances
3. Family economics
4. Household habits
5. Family education
6. The family and the neighborhood
7. Family occasions, home ties, traditions
8. Critical situations

One of the interesting outcomes of the use of the life history guide has been its value in sociology classes. The "Social History of a Boy" and a complementary one on the "Social History of a Girl," may be used to advantage in Introductory Sociology classes. They have set pupils to thinking as nothing else in these classes has done.

²⁷ Begun by Mr. Dufлот under the direction of Professors E. W. Burgess and E. F. Young.

²⁸ Joseph L. Dufлот, "The Study of Critical Situations in the Organized Family," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, X:169.

The task of recalling personal history is a very interesting, and, I am sure, profitable assignment. It brings out the fact that the real college course is the one which besides reviewing the known, makes the student think for himself. Much thought is necessary for a social history and it is hoped that the reader of this paper will derive as much benefit in reading as I have had in writing "The Social History of a Boy." (College student)²⁹

In conclusion it may be noted that "life history data have theoretical as well as therapeutic value."³⁰ They serve both research and treatment purposes. They represent a common meeting ground of sociological science and of practical social work.

²⁹ From statement by a student in the University of Southern California.

³⁰ Clifford R. Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

CHAPTER XI

DIARIES AND LETTERS

1. THE DIARY

One of the most valuable human documents is the diary, providing it is "kept" properly. If it records daily a person's important and new social contacts, his conflicts, and accommodations, it far surpasses the life history. It does not rely on memory but writes history "as it happens," day by day. It states what has occurred "of moment at the moment" and makes comments which reveal personal reactions.¹

To secure a person's diary of the sort indicated requires time and patience. To get a person sufficiently interested is enough, for the simpler and more naive the diary is, the better does it reflect elemental processes. But since it requires regularity of habit in writing it is difficult to procure. To get it for even a year period not to mention a five-year period is exceedingly difficult and requires encouragement from time to time from the research student. After the diary has once been started in motion, however, it may be tapped at any time, but the longer it runs the better it becomes for the study of human attitudes.

The diary is also a convenient form in which a research student, if he will, can record his own observations upon and reactions to the participants in a social conflict as he meets them.² The diary enables one to set down in a systematic way his casual observations regarding key people in a conflict situation. It is important "to note down anything that seems to raise a question or constitute a pertinent comment upon "the problems and the peoples" that are being studied.

¹ See Robert E. Park, *Field Studies in Americanization* (Berkeley, California: University of California Extension Division, 1925), Assignment 3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

"Anything that has human interest; anything that may be regarded as news in our field"; any personal experience that "one would be likely to record in a personal letter may turn out to be significant and should be recorded."

The Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey stimulated the keeping of diaries by American school teachers. As assignments in a correspondence course they produced sufficient interesting materials to justify the method amply. Diaries kept according to social research rules constitute the best sources of life history materials.

April 16, 1924. I took my Mexican girls to———tonight for a party. These are Americanized Mexican girls. . . . I don't quite like the result.

The group is quite different from the shy-eyed little Mexican girls straight from the line.

They all sing the latest jazz, roll their socks (———'s bright red garters are always showing), play baseball and jazz around loudly and pleasantly. . . .

We played "Wink" and it was amusing to watch the consternation of the Mexican boys, most of them just in this country a few months. They are unused to such carefree manners.

B——— was nearly overcome with embarrassment when he was "it" and had to wink at some of the *muchachas*.

April 21. E——— told me that yesterday at the ball game there was a renewal of the fighting between the colored and the Mexicans. Some of the boys, it seems, even started for home to get their guns. . . .

P———, the colored principal of the East Side School, so J——— said, spent most of the morning talking to the high school on the subject. . . .

The women believe most of the trouble comes from the children and loafing half-grown boys, who should be in school. . . . Most of them are children of the transient Mexican workers.³

In the Race Relations Survey even housekeepers collected much valuable materials regarding racial contacts. At first these data may seem to be of a miscellaneous nature, but when extensive they reveal interesting points.

October 16. I bought a watermelon today of the wife of the keeper of the Japanese vegetable store, and she laughed heartily, the first time in all my dealings for two years at that store. I thought of her as stolid, and of other Japanese in the same way. But today I had the surprise of my life when she laughed heartily and long. This is what I innocently had said to her: "You

³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

can always pick out a nice ripe watermelon for me every time, can't you?" It must have been about the first compliment she had ever received from a white person.

October 21. I started away from the Japanese vegetable store and heard someone running after me. It was the Japanese man, holding up one of my packages that I had carelessly laid down in his store. He didn't say a word, but just smiled and smiled. That was all I did too, I guess, but I still feel like smiling. It made me feel good all over.⁴

In the studies of boys and their problems it has been found that dependable diaries of boys, especially problem boys, are practically out of the question, but boys' leaders, teachers, social workers may keep diaries of boys, giving an account of boys' attitudes together with changes in these, and of the conditions under which these changes occur. In this way data of great importance about boys may be obtained.

M——— yelled "Order," and proceeded to hit two boys over the head with a chair. He then shouted: "If you guys don't keep still, I'll knock your blocks off."

"We're going to have a club, but if we have a club, we have to have an 'organization.' If we have an 'organization' we have to have a 'president.' All youse guys that want me for 'president,' vote for me, and all that want that guy (pointing to another boy and speaking with great scorn), vote for him. All that want that other guy (pointing scornfully to another boy), vote for him. We'll vote now." M——— was elected, but because he himself had nominated two other boys who were not his particular friends, and thus had divided the opposition, and insured his own election.⁵

The social research diary is both interesting and valuable.⁶ It gives a history, as it were, of a person's experiences with a research project. It indicates which methods have proved satisfactory and which have failed. It often discloses a development in methods. It affords clues to interesting side-problems and to the questions that remain untouched at the end of a particular research undertaking. It visualizes successes and failures in actual research as no other document does.

⁴ Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey.

⁵ From data collected by the writer as a student of boys' problems at Northwestern University Settlement, Chicago.

⁶ Some of its possibilities are suggested by the research diary that is given at the conclusion of the thesis written "in partial fulfillment of the Pomona College requirements for bachelor's degree with honors, and with Departmental distinction in sociology" by Hisako Watanabe, 1934.

II. THE LETTER

The letter may be an interesting and valuable research document. To the extent that it is intimate it is revealing. Usually it is not designed for the public eye and hence it contains statements and reports that disclose real attitudes. It contains "news," side-lights, accounts of personal likes and dislikes, emotional reactions, and thus throws light on the attitudes of the writer. Thomas and Znaniecki classify letters in five types: (1) ceremonial letters, (2) informing letters, (3) sentimental letters, (4) literary letters, and (5) business letters.⁷ The "bowing letter" is an underlying and common type, written "by or to a member of the family who is absent for a certain time."⁸ According to Thomas and Znaniecki, "its function is to manifest the persistence of familial solidarity in spite of the separation." Such a type of letter is often invaluable as a research document, for it gives specific data described in detail relating to personal experience.

A series of letters written by an immigrant regarding his experiences in a new country are almost as good as a diary for research purposes and less difficult to obtain. The use by Thomas and Znaniecki of over 15,000 immigrant letters in the preparation of their work on *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* illustrates some of the possibilities. In a letter to a friend, the immigrant is writing more or less intimately, not to an audience but to one person. In it are likely to be found the immigrant's uncensored comment on our customs and habits of life.

These documents, in turn, exhibit as no formal statement of them could, the standards and values around which the life of the immigrant has been consciously or unconsciously organized. It exhibits, not infrequently, the rude shock which these standards and the whole life organization of the immigrant suffers in the American environment.⁹

In America the immigrant meets conditions which make him acutely conscious of himself and of all the differences between him-

⁷ W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), I:305, 306.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 303.

⁹ From unprinted statement by Robert E. Park,

self and his new environment. In his native country, he has acquired, quite naturally and unconsciously, habits, attitudes and values different from our own. These different attitudes and habits are expressed in dress, in manners, in social ritual, as well as in laws and social institutions.

In his native environment all these things are taken for granted, and as long as habits were working smoothly he was no more conscious of them "than a healthy man is conscious of his digestive apparatus." In this country, on the other hand, many, perhaps most, of his social habits do not run smoothly. His attention is called to fundamental racial and cultural differences of which, under other circumstances, he might never have become aware.¹⁰ In a letter to an intimate relative or friend the immigrant often writes with a freedom that he would not ordinarily do. He gives greater vent to his feelings than he would in a more formal document.

66. They sent me to Angel Island! What do you think of that? It hurt my pride! My father paid five hundred dollars solid gold for my passage from Singapore to San Francisco. I was first-class passenger. It was not right to send me to Angel Island. My mission teacher went with me. It was after four o'clock when we got there. A man said, 'You will have to stay here all night until morning, and then you can see the officer.' I said, 'I will not stay here. I will see the officer now—where is he?' He knew I was very mad. I wanted to go back to China and *never* come to United States if everybody was mean like that. I went to see the officer. I walked up to him. I did not look pleasant. I was very angry. I looked proud and said, 'I want to know from you why I have been sent here! I am not a coolie!' That is what I said.

He made nice speech, said it was law to protect all Chinese girls. But I just look at him. He let me go! But when I remember how I was sent to Angel Island, I don't need jacket! I don't need coat! I am too hot all over!¹¹

Letters of native Americans are also valuable. Frequently these are addressed to the editor of a newspaper, or written specifically for publication, and then they may take on an argumentative character as well as disclose opinions rather than attitudes.

Editor C———: I have been exceedingly interested and somewhat *amused* at the controversy which has been going on in the newspapers of

¹⁰ From statement by Robert E. Park.

¹¹ From field notes, Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey.

H———— of late over the Japanese question. What is it all about? Some Christian Japanese want to build a church to worship in. Some other Japanese want to replace the homes they have been living in with better ones, more in keeping with those of their neighbors. A protest is registered and the newspapers are used to spread the gospel of "intolerance" which is at the root of the world troubles of this day and generation.

The trouble with most of the people who don't feel kindly toward the Japanese, is that they do not understand them. Mrs. R———— and myself traveled in Japan and made a close-up study of the Japanese. They are a very kindly people and their home life is such that the people of any nation might do well to emulate them. If I could only tour one country among the nations of the world I would choose Japan for its interesting history and people. They are by no means an inferior people to any nation on earth. Class for class they stand on as high a plane as any people. No foreigner in Japan would receive the unkind treatment that the Japanese receive in the State of California. Citizens of the United States are permitted to build their churches in Japan and are welcomed. Why should the Japanese not be welcome to build their churches among us, especially when they desire to worship under the form of religion which we ourselves profess?¹²

In the Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles, letters written by boys to persons such as probation officers, teachers, Y.M.C.A. leaders, and Big Brothers were valuable, whether the boy has been "getting on" well or not. The letters indicating needs for adjustment are especially valuable. Letters to parents or others written by boys in trouble are often masterpieces in subterfuge, but even so, are significant in revealing attitudes. The letters of one delinquent boy to another are difficult to obtain and often display a spirit of bravado and of status-hunting. Not regret for wrong-doing, but for getting caught is frequently expressed. At any rate such a letter takes one into "the boys' world."

One of the most forthwithstanding clubs in America was originated in a dark and oderous dugout.

The first meeting was called to order by the salemn cap. This was held in dugot it was thereafter the favorite meeting hole we had, the entrance to the secret dugout could only be made by a peel climber. It was gained by climbing the highest fork in the tree, sliding down a 50-foot cable then sliding down an old flagpole to the edge of a bluff to the north edge there was a trap door from there he grouped his way in darkness until he came to dark place.¹³

¹² *Loc. cit.*

¹³ From field notes, Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles.

Another research use of the letter is found in having participants in a social problem write letters to the research student after the latter has made his main contacts in a problem-situation, keeping him informed of every new development, of old events newly come to light, of any changes in the given social conflict or of any new interpretations of the data and major events. Such letters play a kind of "follow-up" role.

CHAPTER XII

INTERPRETING CASE MATERIALS

The keynote of the life history and related documents is found in *personal experiences*. The securing of personal experiences represents the most interesting and fascinating of all methods of social research, because each unique experience brings out some "new" or "different" data or meanings of data. Accounts of personal experiences photograph vagrant impulses, rising tides of emotion, habits disorganized and shattered, new organizations of mental activity. They reveal what goes on beneath the surface of everyday life; they disclose "normal people as psychiatry studies abnormal individuals."

A question that may be raised is: How do you know that personal experiences or the life histories which you are securing are typical or representative? Another question that may be raised is: How do you know that the interpretations which are made by one individual, even an individual trained in social research, are to be depended on as being valid? These questions, however, may be answered by considering closely the nature of experience.

Experience is "concrete, personal, and unique. It does not repeat itself exactly. We never have the same experience twice in exactly the same way. An experience in life is an historical fact; it always has a date and a location and it happens only once."¹

In experiences a person's attitudes are born, and these largely determine his opinions. Thus, the study of public opinion on any question may be traced back through personal opinions to attitudes and then to experiences or reactions to and interpretation of events. "The experience *contains*, so to speak, both the event and the attitude."² It is important, therefore, to secure accounts of both social

¹ R. E. Park, "Experience and Race Relations," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VIII:18-24.

² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

situations, and the situations, and the persons' reaction to these situations as disclosed by his experiences.³ Experiences first of all are historical facts. When reduced to types they take in new meanings; they are seen as parts of or in relation to whole sections of human experience, and thus secure adequate interpretation.

The mode of procedure in studying attitudes is to collect accounts of personal experiences and to compare them. The comparison of two person's experiences in a given social situation generally shows both similarities and differences. The similarities in a number of experiences in a certain social situation denote types of behavior which as they become common become understood and thus explain human nature. As we make a wider and more intimate acquaintance with persons outside our own race and groups we tend to correct our more naive estimates of our fellows. Notations of personal experiences are valid because most experiences when analyzed fall into similar classifications. These types repeat themselves so regularly that their very recurrence gives them a certain validity.

The sociologist is interested in the particular experience only so far as it enables him to say something about human nature in general, irrespective of any particular time or place. The sociologist classifies the experience and so explains it.⁴

Variations or deviations from type are especially interesting. They represent unaccounted for factors, and hence, may become subjects of major investigation.

The procedure here is just the same as in any of the natural and physical sciences. We explain things by putting them under some general category, classifying them, in short, and then discovering where we can, the reason for the deviation from type.⁵

To the degree that we can relate a new experience to a behavior-pattern already familiar and understood, we can understand it. If it may not, however, be so related and classified, it forms the basis for a new category of behavior patterns.

The method of interpreting personal experience is not to be judged by statistical standards any more than the latter are to be

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ R. E. Park, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 22, 23,

evaluated by personal experience methods. Someone may question the personal experience method because it treats of a relatively few persons, but such a comment reveals a statistical bent and a lack of comprehension of this research technique. By the latter method one case is proportionately as vital as a million — to the extent that it brings something new before the mind that may be related to what is already known, and hence may be understood. It is also of research value to the extent that it is representative of a class of items.

May any person interpret his own experiences? Not necessarily. In their intricate phases, rarely. Hence, it is important that the interviewee confine his attention to as accurate and complete a description of his experiences as possible. It is the research expert who had better attend to the interpretation, in the same way that the physician interprets the symptoms of the patient. The latter may describe how he feels, but the experienced physician is the expert who can best interpret the data. Moreover, he interprets the condition of his patients, one by one, in the light of all of his previously obtained knowledge.

In a recent study on non-voting the non-voters were asked to explain why they did not vote, but the chances are that many of the non-voters did not know and could not possibly tell. A description of the circumstances and experiences of each non-voter would give the research expert a basis for an adequate interpretation of factors.

In race studies on the Pacific Coast the experiences of Americans with Orientals often contain adverse interpretations, due sometimes to the "different" physical appearance of the Oriental, sometimes to the differences in his traditions, and sometimes to other factors, such as economic competition, or to political haranguing and yellow journalism playing upon the emotions.⁶ To the extent that we can reproduce in our minds the circumstances under which an experience has occurred, we can understand it, and to the degree that we can reproduce all the important types of experiences that have occurred

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

in a conflict situation, we can understand that situation. When that situation is understood, the work of social research is done.

The similarities in personal experiences are exceedingly common. Whatever the differences may be, it is apparently true that these are outvoted in both quantity and quality by the similarities. While the differences create the problems and are the main centers of attention in social research, the similarities are vital because it is necessary to understand them in order to be able to classify the differences properly.

All people have loves and hates, joys and sorrows; all communicate and (above the moron level) are able to think; all are active and do things. There is a universal culture pattern.⁷ All have food habits, dress habits, shelter habits; all have religious practices, family and social systems, methods of control or government, property rights, a war technique, knowledge, and art professions. "It is because the same relations in communication, thought, and tools everywhere prevail that the cultures of the world have the same form and manifest the same processes. This is what is meant by the universal pattern."⁸

Franz Boas, a leading anthropologist, after painstaking study, leans to the conclusion that the organization of mind is practically identical among all races of men, that is, the laws which determine the modes of thought and action, are the same; and that mental activity follows these laws everywhere.⁹ E. B. Reuter, an authority on population problems, concludes that all races possess the essential characteristics which constitute the human mind and that all have the capacity to acquire civilization.¹⁰ The sociological verdict may be added in the words of Park and Miller: "The nature of man is everywhere essentially the same and tends to express itself in simi-

⁷ Cf. Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1923), Ch. V.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁹ *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911), p. 102.

¹⁰ *Population Problems* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1923), p. 102.

lar sentiments and institutions."¹¹ In other words, there are good grounds for the assumption that, whatever the biological differences and social heritage differences may be, there is also a common universal core of inheritance and heritage.

To the extent that people have similar life experiences they are likely to develop similar habits of thought and action and to grow alike. For this reason, also, they develop a "consciousness of kind" and may be characterized by extensive imitative activity. To the degree that a person is representative or typical he is generally understood. When he does average or ordinary things, the peace of the group is not disturbed; but when he acts even a little differently, inquiring attention is at once directed upon him.

When a person experiences a circumstance that is unusual, he may be expected to become a little "different," and hence to be to that extent misunderstood. If there are many of these unique experiences, then many of his attitudes become "different." If a whole group experiences, for example, economic circumstances that are distinctly below or above the mass, a wide chasm in attitudes and thus in group opinion will develop between said group and the larger group of which the smaller one is a part; powerful antagonistic currents of public opinion may be set in motion. Two national groups with different backgrounds, different circumstances, and different aims may easily misunderstand each other and fall into a serious conflict.

In the ways that occupations and hence the occupational experiences of people vary, they become different from each other, and conflicts arise. The farmer, for example, is different from the city man because he has different occupational experiences. Many of the chief distinctions between the members of different races are evidently due largely to differences in experiences. It is important, therefore, to study *differences* and the *origins* of differences in human experiences, for out of these, social misunderstandings, conflicts, and problems arise.

¹¹ *Old World Traits Transplanted* (Chicago: Harper and Brothers, 1921), p. 2.

It is these differences which become the centers of whatever group consciousness comes to overt expression. It is these which create the social tensions that arise and develop into neighborhood disturbance feuds, riots, civil strife.

It is also these differences which stimulate new awakenings, new enthusiasms, and lead to inventions, discoveries and progress. It is the new, the unknown, the shocking, and hence the different, that are the most effective social stimuli, that make social contacts enlivening, and that constitute the most interesting and worthwhile laboratory of social research.

In the Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles it was found, for example, that the boys' experiences in the classroom are different from those of the teacher, and that the failure of the teacher, as the responsible adult to recognize these differences, often creates "problem boys." Likewise, the failure of the parent to understand his boy is due to similar reasons. The church that expects a boy to sit through a service designed almost wholly for adults or even old people rarely puts itself in the experiences of the boy who is "sitting through." Out of respect the boy when questioned by the pastor regarding the church service may respond "Fine," but the chances are that such a pastor knows little regarding the process of interviewing boys and of obtaining a true picture of what is going on in the boy's world.

The personal experience method of social research may lay claim to the support of both logic and science. To seek out the origins of the "different" in personal experiences is to penetrate to the ultimate human sources of knowledge, to uncover the beginnings of misunderstandings, and to open the way for accommodation and the peaceful adjustment of conflicts, not to mention the possibility of preventing misunderstandings and strife.

This method of social research finds support in the technique of the psychiatrist, the psychoanalyst, the physician. Each centers attention on the individual client; each starts with some functioning of

the human organism that is "different," and then works back to the origins of this unusual functioning.

This method, however, is not to be classed with that of the introspectionist psychology. In the latter case, one "introspects" his own mind; in the former, the emphasis is on studying the experiences, memories, and so forth, of other persons, of putting these into objective terms, and then of comparing them with the common, universal human behavior patterns that are already pretty well understood and translated into objective terms.

When a new person (stranger) or race (with strange customs) appears, the personal experience method of research seeks full and detailed descriptions, not only of the "strange" and hence different, but of its origins in human experiences and cultures. Sometimes the "new" is simply new to the people of a given locality or race, but very old, commonplace, and understood to the peoples who have brought it unwittingly into conflict with the accepted order of the locality where it has created a flurry of excitement. Its natural history will often make it understood; and to the degree that it is understood it can be handled wisely. The "old" with which it comes into conflict is often "new" to the newcomers, and hence a social conflict is often a strife between two "differents" (viewed from the exponents of each respectively). For example, while the Japanese "picture bride" procedure was "shocking" to many Californians, it probably was not so much so as the free love-making in America was shocking to the Japanese.

When the natural history of each "different" attitude is obtained and become commonly understood, the road will have been opened for mutual understanding and hence, for accommodation and adjustment. As soon as a "different" attitude is understood and related to the common knowledge of attitudes, it need no longer be a source of conflict, and the social researcher, like the psychiatrist, may go on to the next situation which is creating trouble, and proceed in the same way. Social reform may still be needed, but the work of social research has been completed.

Every time you see me you recognize me as being a little better than a dog and whenever I see you I think of you as a cruel master with a bull lash. As long as the feeling keeps churning around in you that I am so inferior, you will despise me and as long as my hatred keeps stirring and boiling around in me I will hate and despise you.¹²

To the extent that mutual dislike is due to experiences, it may be dissolved through a mutual understanding made possible by the results of research. Sometimes it may spring from antagonistic emotional reactions arising out of the hidden sources of personality, and thus when mutually understood may be followed by adjustments.

The personal experience and life history method of studying attitudes discovers the different, obtains its natural history, makes this history available to those who do not understand, and adds it to the human stock of comprehensibles; and then goes on to the next "different," and repeats the process.

The method discussed in this chapter resolves itself into collecting personal experiences in both their intellectual and emotional details and classifying them according to behavior patterns. Certain undertones come out repeatedly as in an orchestra—and thus we obtain understanding. The similarities are understood first, but the differences and the relationships are often puzzling. When these are analyzed into their origins and are seen in their natural relationships they too become plain.

The question next arises: What is the relation of personal experience and case analysis to statistics? Some persons put the latter foremost and discard the former entirely. Some consider statistics as introductory to case studies and as indicating the social location of the problems to be studied. Some claim that statistics simply reveals problems but does not afford data for analyzing them.

In this volume it is claimed that all the methods that will help to throw light on the nature of a social problem should be utilized. In other words when a research problem has been carefully defined or stated, it becomes the work of the research person to consider all the research methods for gathering and analyzing data with an equal

¹² From field notes, Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles, 1926.

degree of favorableness, and to see in just what way each method can make a contribution. The probability is that the ecological approach, observation techniques both participant and non-participant, social surveys, group interviews, personal interviews, life histories, diaries and letters, will all be needed. When the data are in, then apply statistical analysis where the materials permit and case analysis and interpretation where the materials allow such procedure.

A basic distinction between the statistical and the case approaches has been made by Ernest W. Burgess, who points out that the former is atomistic and the latter organic.¹³ The atomistic theory is that a mass of items is composed of "relatively independent individuals," while the organic theory holds that each unit in the human field is tied up with all the others, produced by the others in part, and constantly undergoing change by virtue of interaction with other units, or persons. Hence statistics when applied to human beings ignores the real essence of its subject matter, while case studies alone are able to catch the innermost meanings of social life and problems.

Moreover, statistics even in the application of its technique dealing with relationship, merely suggests, but does not reveal "the process of causation."¹⁴ From this viewpoint it would appear that statistics might be used to open up social problems as it were, but that case studies of human experiences would be needed to do the real delving into the meaning of conflict, accommodation, and assimilation.¹⁵

Florian Znaniecki points out that the statistician uses the term type and typical to refer to the modal case or else a sample case selected at random from among all the cases belonging to a class of cases, whereas the case analyst uses the term type in its original sense of "serving to determine a class, to define it comprehensively;

¹³ "Statistics and Case Studies as Methods of Sociological Research," *Sociology and Social Research*, XII:112 ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. iii.

¹⁵ An interesting example of the case method is given by Clifford R. Shaw, in his article on "Case Study Method," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXI: 149-157.

and not merely one helping to characterize a class already defined."¹⁶ In this way inductive analysis may consider case after case as a means of defining the limits of classes of data, and of determining new classes.

It will be noted that the techniques of statistics and of case studies are so different that the ordinary person is able to use only one or the other. The need is for research workers who are able to move from one completely over to the other as the problem and the data require.¹⁷

In general a research project is best carried out where data are collected that permit of statistical analysis and also data that allow for the application of case analysis techniques. The two methods of analysis are sometimes complementary. In other words, statistics can show mass tendencies and general variations. Personal experience data interpreted by case analyses can indicate the bases for, and the inner, deeper nature of, the mass movements and the individual variations.

Statistical analysis and case analysis are complementary in another way. The former can indicate which are representative cases, and the latter can not only point out the meanings of these representative cases and hence of the whole, but can discover and set the limits to new types of data.

¹⁶ Florian Znaniecki *The Method of Sociology* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1934), p. 251.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

CHAPTER XIII

GRAPHIC PRESENTATION

1. The simplest form of making facts graphic is the ordinary arrangement of figures into *tables*. From the tables charts and graphs are made.¹ To make an accurate table is not always easy. In the first place the columns of figures need to be labelled (at the top of each) correctly and in the fewest words possible. Where feasible columns of corresponding percentages should parallel the columns of figures.

TABLE VI
SHOWING PERCENTAGES

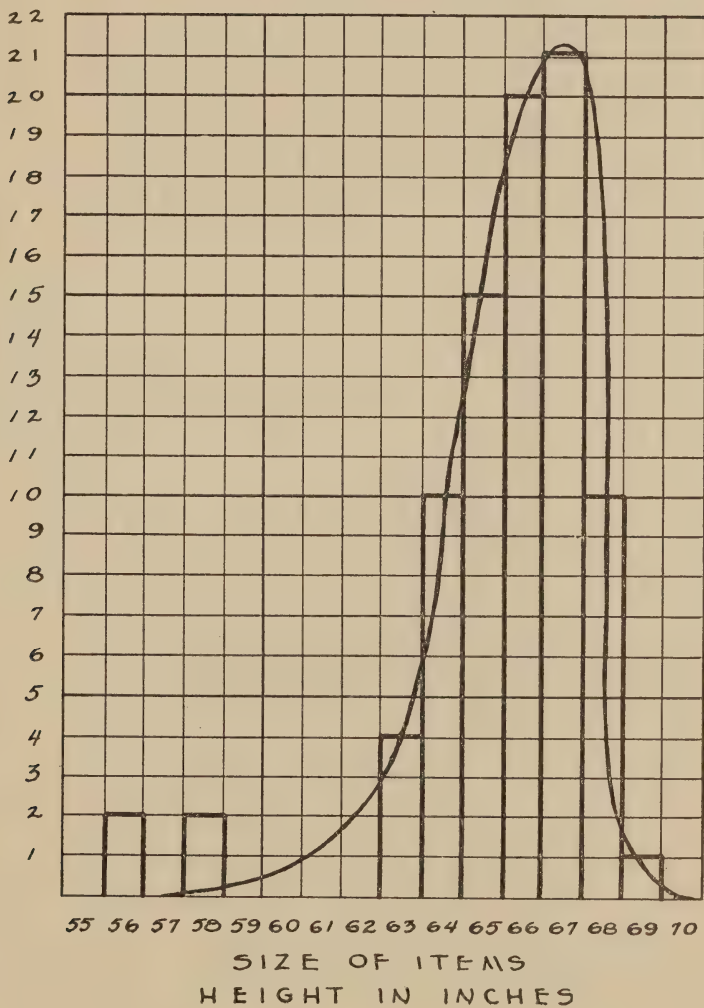
<i>Inches Tall</i>	<i>No. of Men</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
56	2	2.3
58	2	2.3
63	4	4.7
64	10	11.7
65	15	17.6
66	20	24.3
67	21	24.7
68	10	11.7
69	1	1.1
<hr/> TOTALS	<hr/> 85	<hr/> 100.0

It is also important to number the tables consecutively and to label them exactly and in as few words as possible. Wherever possible totals and percentages will be given. From this simple beginning table-making may be developed extensively.

¹ The introductory statements in this section concerning how to make facts graphic need to be supplemented by careful study of such important works on this subject as W. C. Brinton's *Graphic Methods for Presenting Facts* (New York: The Engineering Magazine Co., 1914); K. G. Karsten's *Charts and Graphs* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1923), and *Graphs—How to Make and Use Them*, by H. Arkin and R. R. Colton (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936).

CHART VI

BASED ON TABLE I

NO. OF ITEMS
FREQUENCY

POPULATION BY RACIAL GROUP
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, JUNE 30, 1934
ESTIMATE BY TERRITORIAL BOARD OF HEALTH

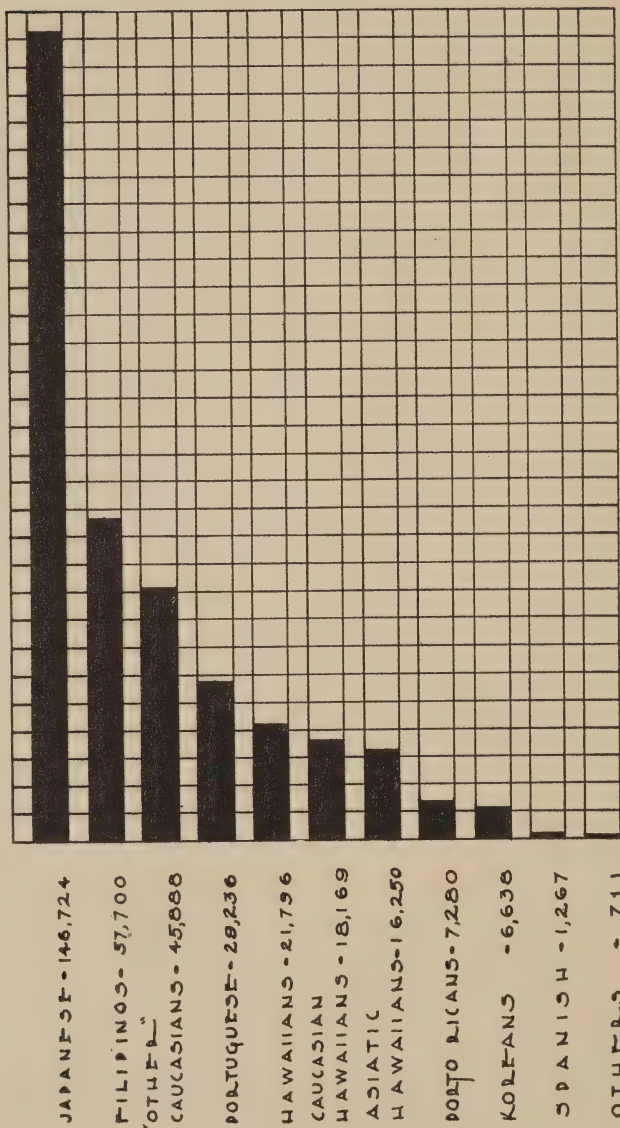


CHART VII
A HORIZONTAL BAR CHART

COMPARISON OF NUMBER OF OFFENSES COMMITTED,
70 CITIES OVER 100,000 POPULATION, UNITED STATES,
FOR 1931 AND 1933

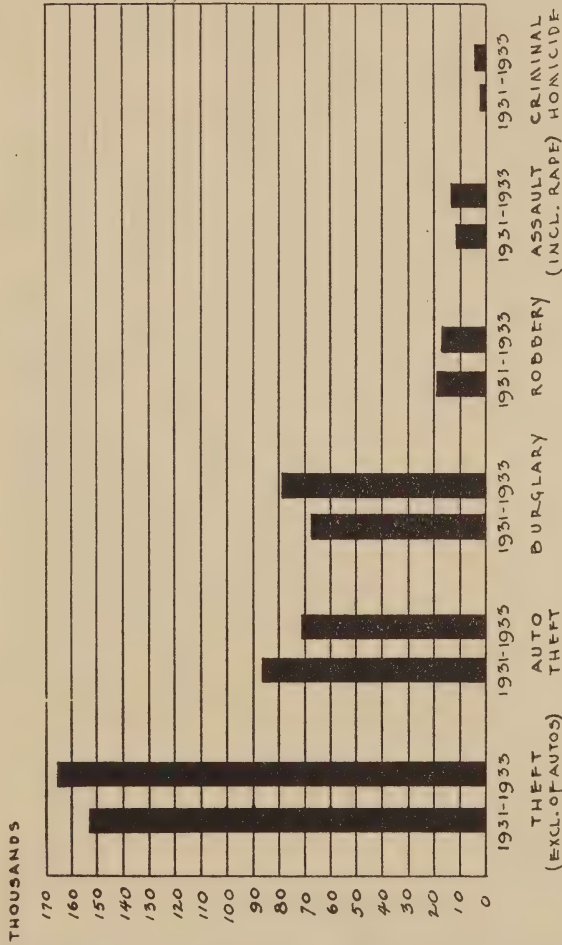


CHART VIII
A COMPARATIVE BAR CHART

2. The *map* is helpful to illustrate references to geographic areas. As a rule the map will be drawn on paper of letter size ($8\frac{1}{2} \times 11$ inches) or twice that size (17×11 inches), so that it may be folded and fitted into the final report uniformly with the regular pages. Oftentimes an outline map is adequate. Neatness and accuracy are essential in presenting the particular geographic facts which are being illustrated.

In distinguishing various areas from one another the use of different colors will suffice. For comparative purposes one map may be superimposed on another. By superimposing a map of Italy upon a map of Florida, for example, a better basis for comparing the two areas is obtained than would otherwise be the case.

By shading the areas of a city, for instance, in which the members of a given race are found according to the percentage of the total population that the given race represents in the particular area, a significant racial map may be constructed.

In showing the location, for example, of the addresses of individuals suffering from tuberculosis or of those persons on probation from the juvenile court, the use of flat-headed pins is best. Tacks with differently colored heads will serve to distinguish between the members of different races suffering from tuberculosis. Glass-headed pins or tacks with short needle points are best.

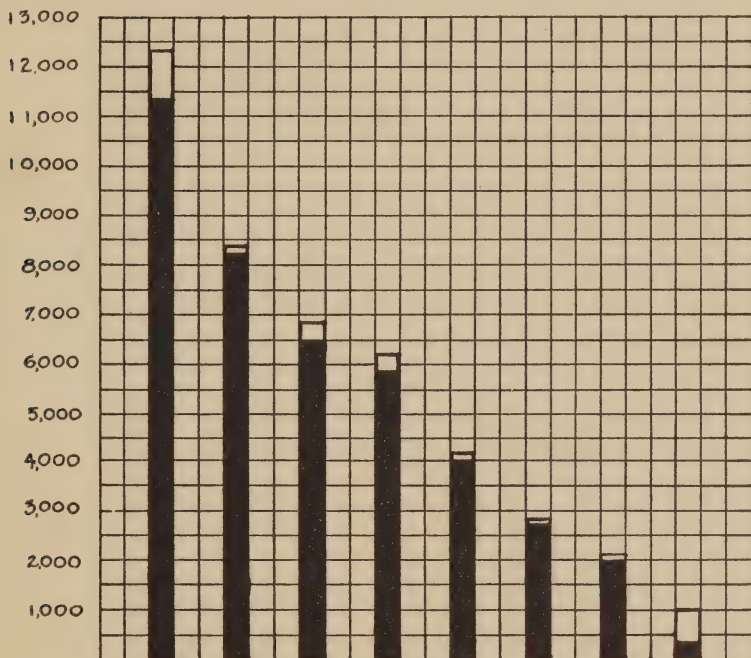
The spot or dot map (see Chapter III) has become very popular in recent years, for ordinarily a dot is used to represent an individual item or any given number of items. The spot map which uses several small symbols of various designs to represent different items, such as business houses, schools, churches, and the like, has a special graphic value.

Then there is the comparative diagram chart in which the well known procedure is used of imposing the Capitol building of the United States upon a steamship such as the Normandie in order to give an idea of the size of the latter. The result is both accurate and effective.

DISTRIBUTION OF ARRESTS IN THE
UNITED STATES JAN. 1, 1934 TO - -
MAR. 31, 1934 BY SEXES FOR SELECTED
CRIMES

(UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS, FIRST QUARTERLY
BULLETIN, 1934, p. 26)

WOMEN - - 1,097 130 346 444 178 53 44 735



- THEFT - - DRUNK - - ROBBERY - - INTOXI - - PROS - -
(EXC. AUTO) - ENNESS - - AUTO - CATED - TITU -
- BURGLARY - - ASSAULT - - THEFT - DRIVERS - TION -

MEN - - 11,437 8,230 6,503 5,786 4,080 2,715 2,065 322

CHART IX
A COMPARATIVE COMPOSITE CHART

TYPES OF CRIME FOR 1264 CITIES, UNITED STATES, 1933

CRIMINAL
HOMICIDE 5,800 .7 %
ASSAULT 28,000 3.4 %
(INCL. RAPE)
ROBBERY 51,000 6.3 %

AUTO
THEFT 159,000 19.7 %

BURGLARY 188,000 23.2 %

THEFT (EXCL.
OF AUTOS) 375,000 46.4 %

TOTAL

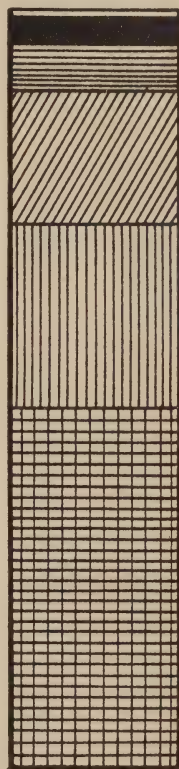


CHART X
A COMPOSITE BAR CHART

3. In making *diagrams* coordinate paper is a practical necessity. The horizontal lines are called abscissas; and the perpendicular lines, ordinates. On these lines a variety of facts may be illustrated and curves made showing tendencies (see Chart VI).

In preparing a frequency chart the simplest procedure is to make a perpendicular bar chart and to connect the tops of the bars, or to use abscissas and to connect the tops of the appropriate vertical lines. If the number of items and hence of the bars or abscissas that are used is small, the resultant frequency "curve" will not be "smooth" but very irregular. If the number of items is large the curve will be "smoother." It is permissible to avoid sharp turns and to smooth out irregular fluctuations. Smoothing brings out tendencies but conceals individual facts.

For comparative purposes two or more curves may be put upon the same chart; one representing, for example, the number of men and another representing the number of women employed at different wage scales in a factory or geographic area. In imposing one curve on another it is necessary to use comparable units of measurement on the lower ordinate and on the left-hand abscissa; it is also necessary to use lines of different heaviness so that when they cross one another confusion will not result as to which is which. A heavy line and a dotted line, or lines of different colors will meet this difficulty. As a rule not more than three lines can be put on a single chart to advantage.

The bar diagram illustrates facts through the use of horizontal or perpendicular bars or very heavy lines drawn parallel to each other. This is the simplest form of diagram (see Chart VII). For purposes of comparing two opposing or complementary sets of facts a simple procedure is to place close together the bars that represent each of the two sets of data (see Chart VIII). Sometimes one portion of a bar is used to illustrate a set of facts and another portion, to indicate complementary data. In Chart IX one portion of each bar is solid black and the complementary portion white. The corresponding figures are given at the bottom and the top of the chart.

MEXICAN IMMIGRATION TO
THE UNITED STATES . . .
- - - 1821 TO 1930
IMMIGRATION IN THOUSANDS

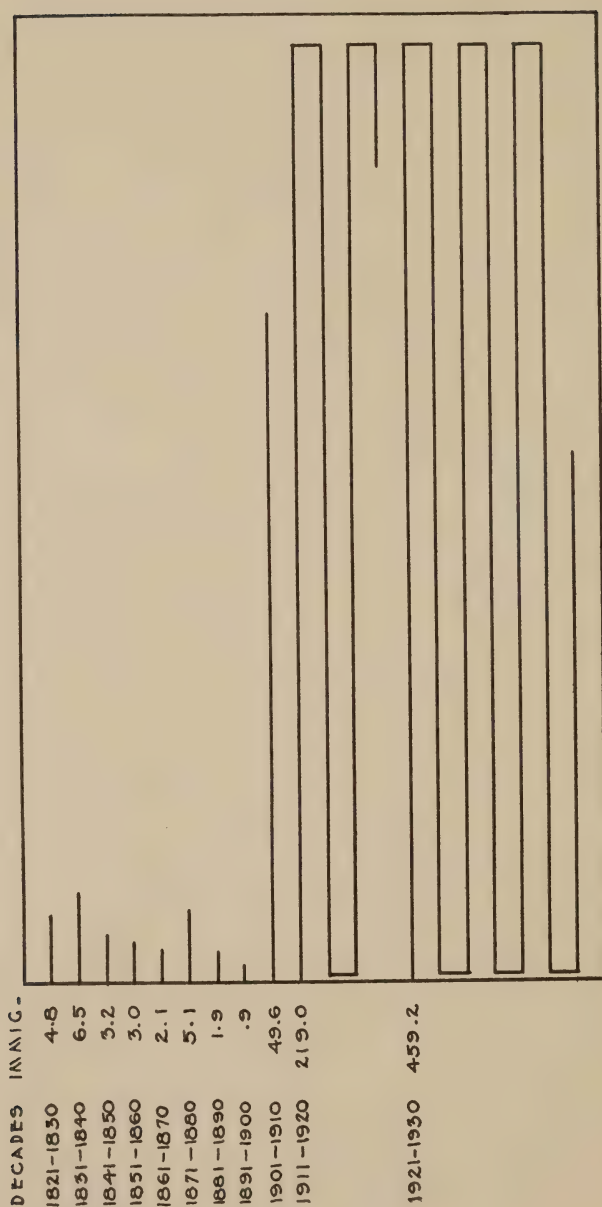


CHART XI
AN EXTENDED BAR CHART

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES BY MONTHS, 1933

EXPORTS IMPORTS IN MILLIONS

JAN.	120	96
FEB.	101	83
MAR.	108	94
APR.	105	88
MAY	114	106
JUNE	119	122
JULY	144	142
AUG.	131	154
SEPT.	160	146
OCT.	193	150
NOV.	184	128
DEC.	192	133

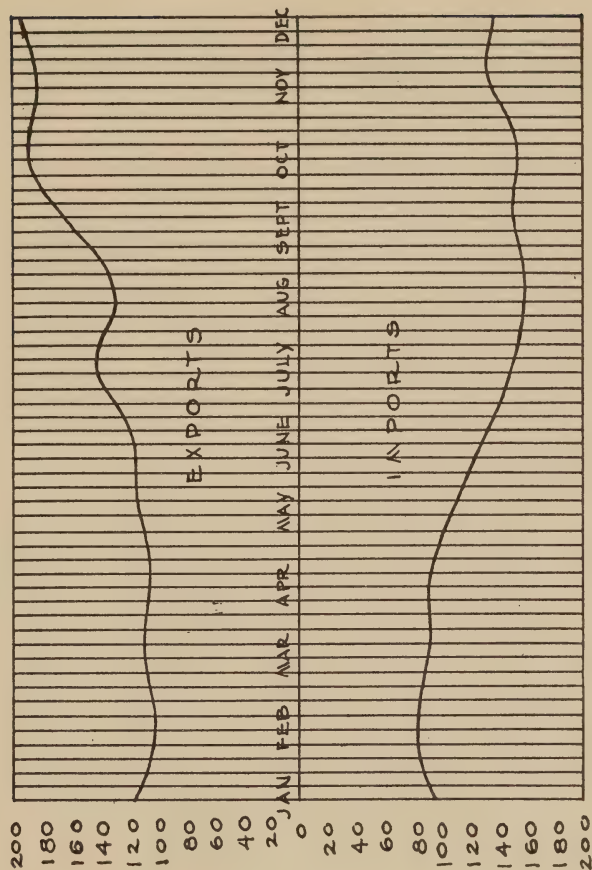


CHART XII
A TWO-WAY CURVE CHART

The composite bar-chart is made by dividing a bar in units, allowing the whole to represent 100 per cent. Then, for example, the number of crimes of different types may be represented by the percentages of the total bar that the numbers of crime of each type represent (see Chart X).

The extended bar chart (Chart XI) is one in which there is a great divergence in the numbers of items in each group of facts. The extended bars make possible a comparative picture even in extreme divergencies of groups of data.

In the two-way curve chart it is possible to compare two sets of correlative facts over a period of time. Divergencies and similarities in data year by year are easily visualized by the two-way curve chart (Chart XII).

The circle diagram may be used in showing relationships in organization, but not for indicating comparative areas or measures, because if you look at the diameter of the circles you get one idea of comparative sizes, but if you consider the area of the circles you receive a different impression (see Chart XIII). In a similar way the use of squares as diagrams tend to create false or confusing comparisons. Likewise, the drawing of different-sized human figures to represent differences in population may give wrong conceptions. In this instance the difficulty can be overcome by making the human figures of the same size and using different numbers of them to indicate population variations.

The Pie Chart (Chart XIV) has a wide popular appeal and is commonly used. Its weakness, however, consists in the difficulty of comparing the arcs at the perimeter, of comparing the angles, and of comparing the areas. Neither is it easier to compare the arcs, angles, or areas of two or more pie charts. Moreover, it is not always easy to label the segments if they are many and thin.

The Multiple-Unit Charts XV and XVI, are simple, direct, and easily visualized. They are the bar charts visualized realistically at some expense to exactness. The Block Diagram, or Box Chart (Chart XVII), gives an idea of the organization purposes of an in-

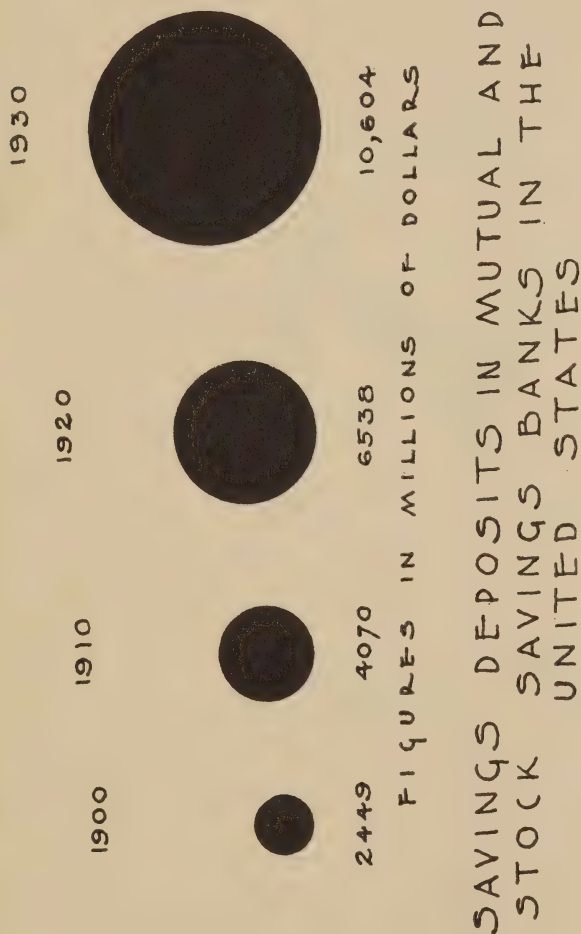


CHART XIII
A CIRCLE CHART

POPULATION
OF THE UNITED STATES
-- 1930 CENSUS

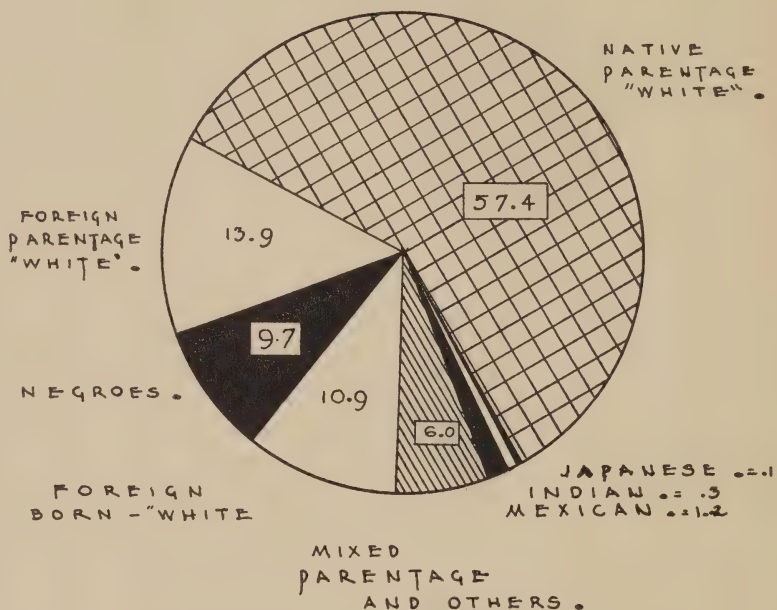


CHART XIV
A PIE CHART SHOWING PERCENTAGES

stitution. It gives a classification of the various activities that are being carried on, but requires careful thought in order that the relationship between the organization units are properly shown.

Many other graphic techniques are available to the student. Moreover, the inventive and original person will experiment with and devise new graphic methods for making vivid groups of facts of a peculiar nature.

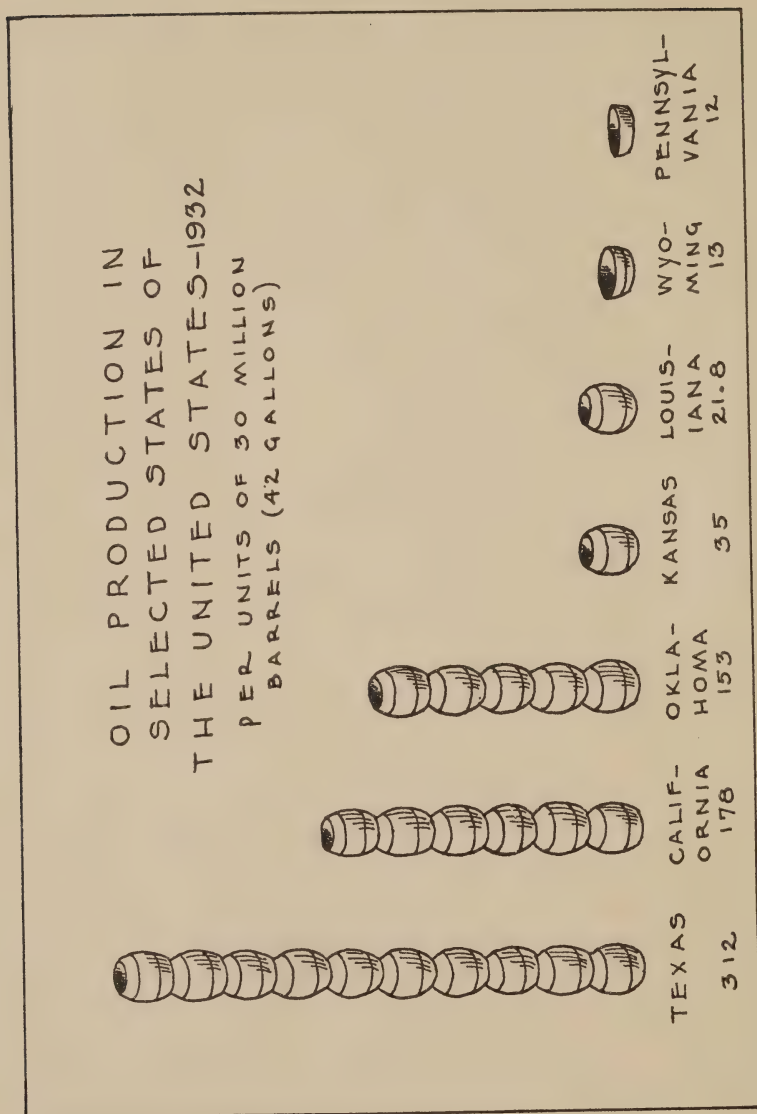


CHART XX A MULTIPLE-UNIT
CHART

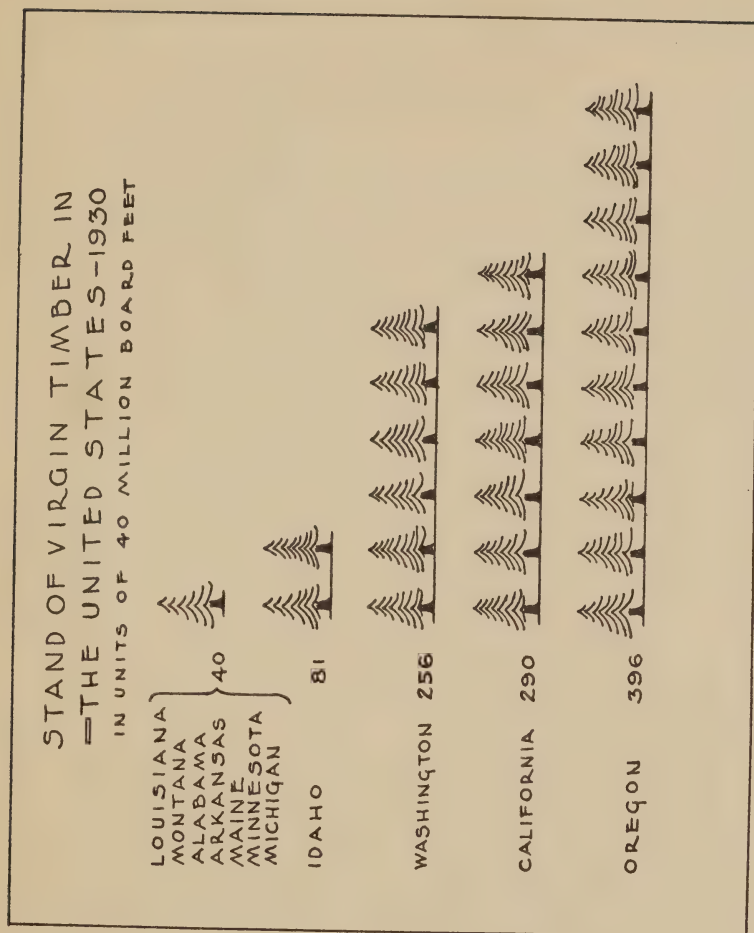


CHART XVI
 A MULTIPLE-UNIT CHART

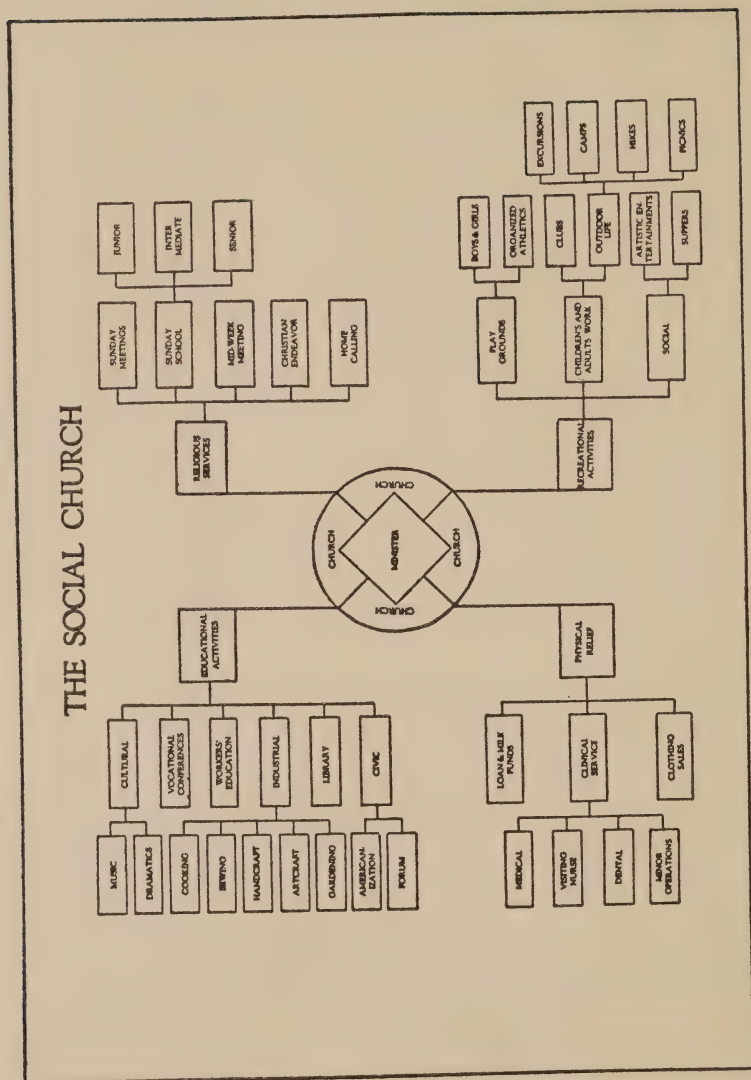


CHART XVII
A BLOCK DIAGRAM

CHAPTER XIV

WRITTEN PRESENTATION

The written presentation of a research study begins with a re-examination of the bibliography. The final bibliography for a given topic will be as accurate and as complete a list as possible of all the reliable materials that have been published on that topic. It reveals at a glance whether much or little attention has been given to the subject, discloses the persons who have been conducting investigations, and serves as a guide to all that has been discovered about the given theme. Moreover, a bibliography is an index to the scholarship of the one making it. A successfully-made bibliography requires patient, skillful effort. It is a worth while achievement to bring together the leading references to everything of value that has appeared in print on the specific topic.

If more than one book by a specific author is listed, it is not necessary to repeat the name of the author; it is better to use a dash in the following fashion:

- Odum, Howard W., *Man's Quest for Social Guidance* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1927).
——— (editor), *American Masters in Social Science* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1927).

The *written document* needs to be worked out according to a logical sequence of topics. A first draft will need to be followed by a second which in turn will be followed by the re-writing of portions of the document.

In preparing the first written draft of a social science paper the student will see that a proper proportion is maintained between the different parts of the work. Usually the introduction is best when brief. The trained student does not allow himself to become lost in a long and drawn-out introductory argument or review of historical backgrounds. He states his assumptions and other introductory data

in brisk sentences, including simply the materials that are necessary for an understanding of the main study. Nothing bores or prejudices a reader more than an elongated introduction.

The best social science papers often have no introduction at all. The writer simply begins his report with a description of his problem, of the methods of research used, and of the sources of the data. As a rule the shorter the introduction the better.² Explanations that are often put in introductions may be put, should they be really needed, in the form of footnotes in the first sections or chapters of the report.

The main text of the paper will build fact upon fact in as natural order as possible. The truth is never to be strained for effect. Those climaxes of thought will be built up that are inherent in the natural sequence of facts. Whenever the student is doubly sure of his ground he may criticize his materials, favorably or unfavorably. At every turn he remains master of his data.

The closing section or chapter will give a brief summary of the territory that has been covered and of the meanings of the whole study. It is a mistake to introduce any new facts in the conclusion; it is the interpretations of data already presented that are exceedingly important. The drawing of concluding principles calls for the student's best efforts. At this point the average student fails, and often because he does not recognize their importance or has allowed himself to "grow stale" and fatigued by the time he reaches the "conclusions," or because he has not allowed himself enough time for this important part of his study. He may gather an immense amount of data, and present it logically well. Then, he may conclude his paper with a few meaningless generalizations or insipid statements. He needs to reserve his best mental efforts for the final stretch. If he fails here, his earlier good work will be greatly discounted. He needs plenty of time to work the materials over and over, and to reflect upon the final interpretations and conclusions.

² Many of the books by Edward A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin are models in this connection. Some of these volumes illustrate how to eliminate introductions.

There occurs here the student's supreme opportunity for manifesting his best ability. To throw a group of facts together or to compile ideas from other people's writing is a very simple piece of mental work. Real brain power, patience, long and hard work are required to make a worthy conclusion.

As a rule it is wise to take the findings of each of the major chapters and form new generalizations by combining and integrating them. In this way something distinctive may be presented in the final chapter and gives it a climactic effect in content.

A natural, straight-forward style of writing is desirable. A variety in the choice of words is important. On the other hand, flowery language and mixed metaphors will be avoided. Hackneyed or trite phrases will be eliminated. Slang will be shunned, because as a rule it is indicative of a small vocabulary and lack of culture. A long word will not be used when a short one will suffice.

For every idea there is a best, a most appropriate word or term. It is worth while to consult the dictionary occasionally as a means of making the correct choice of words. A sense of pride may be taken in acquiring a clear, effective style, in keeping the tenses of the verbs uniform, in introducing new words, similes, and other figures of speech, providing the variations are natural and fitting. No pains need be spared in rewriting particularly difficult passages several times, because improvements will probably accompany each revision. Sometimes the student's best ideas will arise only when he is engaged in actual writing. It is also important to study the style of writers of good English. The practice of reading verse will often increase one's vocabulary and give one a more pleasing style. It is also valuable to spend some time in reading good poetry aloud, because the ear often catches what the eye fails to perceive, and because a trained ear is invaluable for the best writing. At any rate the student may well read his own paper aloud and in so doing will be able to improve his choice of language. Above all things else, the student will give no signs of carelessness in style.

The final draft of the report will be either carefully hand-written

or typed. Legible handwriting in ink, done neatly, in a uniform way, and without hurry, will meet ordinary requirements; a typewritten document, however, is standard, gives a better appearance, and is usually essential if the report is to be sent to a printer.

It is preferable that the final draft for the instructor be written on paper of letter size, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11$ inches. A margin of at least one and one-quarter inches at the top and on the left-hand side, and of one-half inch at the bottom of the page is necessary. A substantial quality of white writing paper is a minimum requirement. Typewritten material is ordinarily double-spaced, except when several lines are quoted; then single spacing is the rule.

The general sequence in the paper will ordinarily be as follows:

1. Title page
2. Table of contents
3. Text of paper
4. Bibliography

The title page gives the title, capitalized, of the paper, the name and number of the course of study for which the paper is written, the name of the college or university, the name of the student, the name of the person or of the auspices under whose direction the study has been made, and the date of finishing the work. A well balanced form is pleasing.

(Title page)

THE CULTURE OF THE AZTECS

By JOHN A. JONES

Written for Sociology 152 "Social and Cultural Origins"

UNIVERSITY of SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
Instructor, DR. CLARENCE M. CASE

May 10, 1935

In writing the paper each leading section will be introduced by its proper heading, corresponding with the headings in the table of contents. The beginning of each leading section may be separated by an extra space of perhaps a half inch from the preceding section.

It is not necessary to start a new section on a new page, except in case of the chapters in a book, a master's thesis, or a doctor's dissertation.

It is especially important to give credit to all authorities whose ideas are paraphrased or quoted. Whenever the ideas of anyone besides the writer are used in any way, a small Arabic numeral is placed at the end of the paraphrased or quoted statement, slightly elevated, and repeated at the foot of the page. The footnote reference may be set off from the text above it, either by an extra space or a line. The footnote numerals may begin with an Arabic numeral 1 on each page, or if the materials are perchance to be printed, they may begin with "1" and run consecutively to the end of a chapter without any breaks in the numbering.

As a rule the footnote explanation gives the name of the authority who is cited, with initials first rather than last as in the case of the bibliography where an alphabetical arrangement is generally best. If the footnote refers to a book, then the author's name is followed by the title of the book underscored, the place of publication, the publisher in full, and the date of publication in parentheses, and the page or pages of the reference. The student will observe two differences from the bibliographic reference, namely, in the location of the author's initials or given name, and the supplementary reference to the page or pages. A sample footnote follows:

¹ Florian Znaniecki, *The Method of Sociology* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1934), p. 237.

If the reference is to an article then the footnote will remain the same as for a reference in a bibliography with the two changes already noted. It will appear as follows:

¹ Austin L. Porterfield, "Imagination in Social Research," *Sociology and Social Research*, XX:224.

If the name of the author of a book or article is mentioned specifically in the main text of one's written report, it need not be repeated in the footnote. The latter may begin with the title of the book or article.²

If the reference is to an authority who supplements in some interesting way the context of the report, or who perhaps disagrees from the writer of the report, then the footnote will be introduced with the symbol, *cf.*, which means, compare, and which should be underscored.³

If a reference immediately is made a second or third time in succession to a particular reference but to a different page, the abbreviation, *ibid.*, underscored and followed by the page or pages should be used. In other words it is not necessary to repeat the whole reference in a footnote.⁴

If the reference is repeated exactly even to the page, then, *loc. cit.*, and nothing else, may be used.⁵ If another reference intervenes, then the preceding reference may be referred to by repeating the author's name, using the term *op. cit.*, underscored, and giving the page or pages.⁶

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES OF FOOTNOTES

³ *The Method of Sociology* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1934), p. 237.

⁴ *Cf.*, Charles A. Ellwood, *Methods in Sociology* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1933), Ch. V.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁷ Charles A. Ellwood, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

The student will aim constantly at accuracy in punctuation, in spelling, in syllabication, and in paragraphing, as well as in choosing the right words. No pains will be spared to settle all doubtful points by consulting if possible, an unabridged dictionary, the encyclopedias, the leading authorities in social science, and the manuals for correct writing.

For instance, samples of the rules for syllabication may be given. These are: "Never carry over two letters only of a word to the next line." "Divide where possible on a vowel (propo-sition)." "Carry over a 't' as in adven-ture."

Before the final writing is begun, the student will have the work in such a shape that he can lay it aside and practically forget it for

a time—at least two or three weeks. When it is taken up after the interim the mind will bring it to a surprising degree of fresh criticism; the presence of unsuspected errors will be detected and new ideas will occur to the thoughtful student. Further, this precaution will protect the student against growing “stale” on his subject. In working out the final draft, the student needs to be at his mental best.

A high degree of satisfaction comes from doing original work. The college student is not called to be an imitator, a copyist, a cataloguer. He is a potential inventor. It is not necessary for him continually to bemoan the fate that he is not a born genius. He is not obliged to live all the time in other people's minds. Originality, invention, creation are possible goals for him. The student should never be satisfied with doing merely *good* work; nothing less than his best should satisfy him, and that only temporarily, for what is his best work today may be his second best tomorrow. His possibilities in the direction of originality he may never have surmised.

The term *thesis* is properly used only in connection with a research study that is required for the degree of Master of Arts, or a piece of investigation of equivalent caliber. The undergraduate student is usually not expected to write a paper worthy to be called a thesis. An undergraduate student, however, who gives himself a training in writing papers, such as the preceding pages of this book presuppose will ordinarily have no special difficulty in writing a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

The topic for a master's thesis is usually very specific and limited in scope. The student is expected to master all the literature that has been written on his subject in any language, and, as a rule, make a special study of his own in the given field. The rules for collecting data, digesting and interpreting the results, and for the mechanical writing of the thesis have been covered in the main in the foregoing pages.

Such a thesis usually requires an academic year to prepare. Even then the topic will need to be in a field with which the student is

quite familiar and where he already has well developed backgrounds of thought. The time element is another essential in preparing a master's thesis.

The length of a social science master's thesis varies according to the topic and method of treatment. As a rule fifty to one hundred pages, typewritten (250 words a page), mark the limits, although quality is more important by far than quantity. The preparation of a thesis is a stimulating mental undertaking. It is a superior piece of work, meriting publication at least in part. It represents the student's mental processes at their best, trained, analytic, synthetic, creative. Its successful completion gives a sense of independence that can be secured in no other way.

The dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy carries research another step—to its highest levels in matters of intensive study. The dissertation involves not only a mastery of knowledge, but a contribution to knowledge. It requires all that the thesis does, but is more intensified, prolonged, and original. It gives a training in prolonged, abstract reasoning, calling forth the highest intellectual powers. It is not prepared primarily for the public to read, but for the examination of trained and scholarly minds.

A social science book at its best is a thesis or dissertation put into readable shape for the public. It is scholarly and thorough, but the style is "lightened up." It takes new and important ideas and puts them in a simple, informational, descriptive, and argumentative fashion.

Both theses and dissertations are intensive in nature, and the preparation of each constitutes the highest challenge to a person's originality. Each means a chance to do something new, unique, and worthy of a hearing. Each means a possible expansion and substantial growth of the student's mental power and grasp.

At all events, first-hand studies pursued diligently, inductively, experimentally, are of supreme value. The avoidance of speculating, of spinning out of one's opinions, and even of a logical but endless discussion of theories remote from consideration of first-hand data,

such as human experiences, social contacts, conflicts, and accommodations, is all-important. When a student once gets the call to research, and once feels the thrill involved in the ecological, the observational, the statistical and the personal experience or psycho-social approaches to social problems, each coordinated with the others, he is on the road to original research.

CHAPTER XV

COOPERATIVE RESEARCH

The advanced student who has a "problem" and who is equipped with ecological, observational, survey, statistical, personal-interview techniques will still need the support that comes from other persons similarly equipped. Where two or three research students gather together at intervals for mutual discussion of problems, technique, findings, there a new research center will be established. It will take on the nature of a research clinic, where social problems may be examined, diagnosed, and new procedures prescribed. This research center will be mutually stimulating and highly interesting to all who participate, and may become of great value to the community in which it is located.

Cooperative research is highly stimulating to all who participate. It leads research workers to redouble their efforts. It multiplies research activities.

As the Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey progressed, a few of those who were actually undertaking the research work met together and presented problems, and a general discussion would follow. Gradually these meetings developed momentum of their own. Later, a loose but permanent organization was perfected.

Meetings were held about every week or two week or whenever there seemed to be need for a discussion of problems. The meetings tended to take on a lecture-demonstration character as well as to become a research clinic. The first type included a main speaker who reported on his findings and problems; the latter, involved the presentation of a problem or problems with some one seeking counsel and advice as to methods of procedure. The first was more easily maintained, because people would be interested in listening to what some one else had done. The first would have a large attendance,

but the latter, an attendance of from seven to twelve persons, which is a number large enough to give variety to a discussion and yet small enough to enable all to take an active part. The clinic is of the small diagnostic type and contrasts with the large oral presentation meetings.

Another possible development is the organization of a Society for Social Research, composed chiefly of faculty members interested in social research and of those graduate students who have research problems and are preparing materials for a dissertation or thesis. This practical goal is of special interest to everyone and often gives an added zest to the lecture-presentations as well as to the diagnostic exercises.

A social research society may branch out and undertake discussions of community problems. It may become a permanent institution and offer lasting stimulus to social research.

In undertaking community projects such a society may promote a system of research fellowships to be provided by the agency desiring the research done. Head research fellows, assistant research fellows, collators, stenographers, a statistical scholar, a draftsman or two — these would constitute a minimum for undertaking a community project.

Another outgrowth of a social research society may be a social research laboratory, with its drafting tables, map and chart-making equipment, clipping bureau, adding machines, and so forth. It becomes the social scientist's main workshop.

The research clinic bulletin is still an experiment but it has demonstrated its worth sufficiently to deserve mention. It is a kind of research news letter, not following the plan of a secretary's minutes in a formal way, but presenting the problems that are discussed at the social research meetings, some of the diagnoses, and some of the findings offered. It is a thoughtful digest of the most meaningful things considered.

Mr. H. reported regarding his study of a typical Mexican community in Southern California and brought up the matter of general method of procedure in gathering data. Suggestions were made ranging from the making

of maps to the gathering of life histories. The difficulty of getting life histories from Mexicans who are illiterate was considered but no satisfactory solution was indicated. The main emphasis was put upon getting the "memories" of the respective Mexicans and having these checked up by a series of personal interviews with the given individuals, and upon getting Mexicans to tell their folk stories.

Miss R. mentioned some of the problems she has had in interviewing, particularly in getting life histories from Chinese and also in getting data from anti-Japanese Americans. In the first instance it was suggested that it would be necessary for Miss R. to work directly through Chinese friends who know the Chinese whose life histories are desired. It was also indicated that the interviewer might associate in some of the activities of the Chinese and acquire the necessary standing and good will. Relative to the anti-Japanese Americans it was indicated that when the interviewer represents herself as coming from the Survey she may undeservedly arouse active antagonism on the part of the persons interviewed, and that she had better approach the given individuals from the standpoint of their personal interests.

Mr. B. reported on the exploring which he is doing on the problem of the studying of business organization among the Japanese. He raised the question whether competition comes within the field of social relations. The discussion indicated that a knowledge of competition was essential to the study of conflicts and accommodations and hence is basic to his project.

Mr. G. asked what could be done to arouse the interest of more Americans in the Survey. It was suggested that questions "showing up" the ignorance of Americans regarding Orientals would help. It was also indicated that the interest of many Americans will be developed as soon as findings are printed, which after all may be soon enough.

Dr. S. reported upon his study regarding the second generation Orientals and indicated many kinds of materials upon which he would like to secure data and received several pertinent "leads." The importance of gathering data along the lines indicated by the following questions was emphasized.

In what studies are these Japanese-American children most interested?

For what reason?

Have they any special aversions to special studies?

In what ways do they "mix" with American children? What difficulties?

How do they solve their recreation needs?

Are there any special difficulties in the Buddhist homes where the children become Americanized?

What restraints, if any, do the parents of these children seek to place upon them and with what results?

Do many of these children or young people run away from their homes? Where to?

Do any Oriental-American children become delinquents?

What is the nature of the delinquency?

What are the problems that these young people are most conscious of?

What are they doing to work out solutions?¹

¹ Extract from a report of a social research clinic dealing with racial problems.

The stimulative effect on leaders in the community is noticeable. People of prominence and leaders in a wide range of activities, will write to the society for social research, asking for plans and questionnaires, research workers, suggestions for determining whether a certain survey is needed or not. Some of these persons will begin to reflect on the methods of social research, and thus the leaven will begin its work. If the society had a motto which the community would appreciate it might be: "To foresee and forestall." At any rate isolation existing between colleges and universities and the community is being slowly overcome.

A research society indicates in a small way what might be done if colleges and universities could unite in cooperative studies of social cultures, diffusion, conflicts, accommodations. In time they could furnish the whole country with authoritative materials, change and mold public opinion, and create a scientific and non-magical control over social questions and social progress.

Among the best known examples of cooperative research are social surveys and community studies. The Pittsburgh Survey may be cited as a well-known type of cooperative research. "Middletown" was the product of cooperative research of a noteworthy order. "Recent Social Trends" illustrates a recent and extensive type of research in which a large number of trained research workers worked together according to a common plan. An unabridged dictionary² or an encyclopedia are testimonies to what cooperative scholarship can do. However, it remains for cooperative research to become common in the study of a specific human problem, with an economist, a political scientist, a historian, a psychologist, a sociologist, and others of similar character, working together on different phases of the same problem. When each problem that arises in human relationships is promptly attacked by cooperative research a new day will have dawned for social research in particular and for mankind in general.

² Such as the latest Merriam-Webster dictionary with its treatment of over 600,000 words and names by a corps of 207 special editors and scholars, published in 1934.

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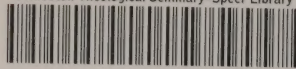
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